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PANJAB under the SULTANS (1000 - 1526 A.D.)

BAKHASHISH SINGH NIJJAR

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PANJAB UNDER THE SULTANS (1000-1526 A. D.)

By

Dr. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar

PANJAB UNDER THE SULTANS consists of an introduction and thirteen chapters. The author has throughout based his account on original sources and has adopted an objective and balanced outlook. His reflections and observations on events and personalities are characterised by clear understanding and dispassionate judgement. He has shown how the Panjab dominated and determined the main trends of political history at Delhi.

The author has not limited himself to the narration of political history but also discussed in detail the administration, the economic life, the social and cultural conditions, the education, the growth of languages, literature and fine arts and development of urban life in this period. He has shown that in spite of political instability, the life of the peasants and artisans went on in old grooves. Though there was hardly any incentive to increase production, except for the canal system of the Tughluqs, corn, clothes and other things were so cheap, that ten maunds of corn, five seers of ghee and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for a single 'bahloli'.

In the conclusion, the author has summed up his findings of his critical examination of the main trends of the history and culture of the Panjab during the Sultanate period. The relevant maps justify the prevalent conditions and enhance value of this book.

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(1000—1526 A. D.)

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By

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DEDICATED

To

My revered grandfather, Sardār Wattam Singh Nijjar (Domeli) who drove his pair of oxen in his rugged fields domed over by the blue expanse of the sky. The sublime jingling of the bells in their necks still resonantly resounds in my ears and seems still to be jingling in some far off ethereal of the heaven. Their celestial sounds have always inspired in me an impulse, which tend me on to explore the vast regions of knowledge.

FOREWORD

Panjāb under the Sultāns (1000-1526 A.D.) by Dr. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, consists of an introduction and thirteen chapters in which a comprehensive survey of the history and culture of the Panjāb during the aforesaid period has been made.

In the introduction, the author has given an account of the geographical and geopolitical aspect of the Panjāb and shown that it has from ages immemorial played a decisive role in the history of the Indian people by virtue of its peculiar situation. Commanding the routes and passes of the north-western frontiers, the Panjāb is the key to the security of the entire Indo-Pākistān sub-continent. Consequently, in it there has been an incessant process of the migration and assimilation of peoples following military invasions or peaceful communications. So long as the Panjāb had an effective defence system, the whole country was safe from the fury of foreign invaders, but when its organisation weakened, the country was plunged in ruin wrought by invaders. The author has dealt with these aspects in detail.

From the first to the seventh chapter, the author has studied the history of the Panjāb under Yamīnis (1000-1186), Ghorides (1186-1206), Mamlūks (1206-1290), Khiljis (1290-1320), Tughluqs (1320-1414), Sayyids (1414-1451) and Lōdis (1451-1526). He has throughout based his account on original sources, mostly Persian chronicles, which he has quoted in the foot-notes. In this narrative he has adopted an objective and balanced outlook. His reflections and observations on events and personalities are characterised by clear understanding and dispassionate judgment. He has shown how the Panjāb dominated and determined the main trends of political history at Delhi. Some of the important dynasties had their origin in the Panjāb and rose up through the welter of events which unrolled themselves there. Some of the notable sections of the people of the Panjāb did not easily reconcile themselves to the rule of Delhi Sultāns. In particular the Gakhars proved a thorn by the side of the Sultāns. They not only challenged the authority of the Sultāns more than once, but also invited the Mongols to invade India and invariably gave them free passage through their country. In the period under consideration, they produced some remarkable heroes, like Jasrat Gakhar, whose career knew no respite or despair and to whom every disaster was an incentive for fresh endeavour undertaken with redoubled vigour. The part he played in contemporary events marks him out as a formidable warrior and an indomitable leader of men. The author has given a full account of his activities which makes interesting reading.

The author has rightly stressed that the Panjāb in the Sultānate period, specially from the time of the Ghorides up to the end of the Mamlūk dynasty, was a kaleidoscope of chaos and confusion. Various governors, invaders and rebels clashed and fought and reduced the reign to anarchy and instability. Only occasionally under some able rulers of the Khilji and Tughluq dynasties did the province heave a sigh of relief and have a moment of respite. Nevertheless, it decided the course of events in North India, the history of which is full of changes, surprises and shiftings that are gripping in appeal and absorbing in interest.

The author has not limited himself to the narration of political history, but also discussed in detail the administration, the economic life, the social and cultural conditions, the education, the growth of languages, literature and fine arts and the development of urban life in this period. Here also, he has drawn extensively upon Persian chronicles and given correct references to them in his notes. He has shown that in spite of political instability, the life of the peasants and artisans went on in old grooves. Though there was hardly any incentive to increase production, except for the canal system of the Tughluqs, corn, clothes and other things were so cheap, specially at the end of Alauddin's reign and during the rule of Ibrāhīm Lōdi that ten maunds of corn, five seers of ghee and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for a single '*bahloli*'.

Society was dominated by the caste system and the curse of untouchability. The sub-castes of workmen such as brewers, smiths, carpenters, barbers, oilmen, jugglers etc., and social groups such as *bhats*, *ahirs*, *gujars*, *cambohas*, *kanetes*, *aroras*, had developed an insularity complex. Socially the landed classes, particularly the *Jats*, *Gakhars*, *Janjuās*, *Awāns*, *Virks*, *Nijjars*, *Bals* etc., had an important position in the countryside. The Central Asian Muslims, particularly the Turks and the Afghāns formed the ruling class, but the converted Muslim population had little share in the administration and found no place in the aristocracy. The *Sūfis* were influenced by Hindū beliefs and practices. The *Jogis* and *Barāgis* wandered from place to place administering the soporific of other worldly life to the disgruntled millions. Women were confined to the homes and had developed the practice '*johar*' and '*sati*'. Some rulers like Muhammad Tughluq disliked practices like the '*sati*' and Guru Amar Dass raised his powerful voice against it. The people were fond of sports and *razm* and *bazm* added some sweetness to the drab routines of their life. Slavery was prevalent, though the position of Muslim slaves was better. Fairs were common and religious assemblages at Pāk Pattan, Multān, Jwālāmūkhi, Nankānā Sāhib, Kūrūkshetrā etc., gave an occasion to the people to mix and meet and develop a collective consciousness.

The Sultāns were interested in learning. Under Nasirudin Mahmud, Jullundur was a famous educational centre and its

Dār-ul-ulum-i-Nasirīya was a renowned seat of studies. The palace of Mahmud, the governor of the provinces of Lāhore, Multān, and Dipālpur, was the meeting place of his literary society, of which Amir Khusrau was the head. Hussain Shah Langāh of Multān was a man of extraordinary learning. Jalāludin Khilji was a poet and Ala-ud-din took delight in a brilliant court. Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was generous towards scholars and Feroze repaired old colleges and established new ones. The reign of Sikander Lōdi saw a renaissance of learning in every corner. But the Hindūs could not get the benefit of royal endowments to their traditional institutions and system of education. No Hindū from the Panjāb contributed to the Arabic literature during the period under review; otherwise the period was rich in the writings of the *Sufis*. Popular literature like '*Vārs*' was also cultivated with great fervour.

The crowning development of the period was the rise of Sikhism from the time of Nānak and the singular transformation it brought about in the life and thought of the Panjāb.

Arts and architecture also developed. Unlike the style of the Mamlūk dynasty and Khilji Sultāns, Tughluq architecture represented a puritanical reaction. The arts of gardening, ornamental pottery and metal-work also registered an advance. Many towns were founded and developed, a long list of which forms part of the twelfth chapter.

In the conclusion, the author has summed up the main trends of the history and culture of the Panjāb during the Sultānate period. Thereafter, comes a bibliography, some maps and appendices.

Thus, it will be observed that the present work is a useful piece of writing. Though, it would be difficult to say that it is the last word on this subject and it may be possible to differ with the author on some points or to advance alternative views, it is uncharitable to deny that it is an interesting survey of the history of the Panjab in this period and serves to stimulate further studies in its various aspects and problems.

With the above observations, I have pleasure in introducing this work to the readers.

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NOTE

In the transliteration of Arabic, Persian, Punjābi and Hindī words, long vowels are indicated as ā ī ō ū. Well-known words like Khān and Sultān, Panjāb, Lāhore and Multān, sometimes have been accented. Similarly, where 'h' in a final position is silent, it has been dropped to hold in the correct pronunciation of the word. Thus, Farishtāh, Battutāh and Zilhijjāh have been written as Farishtā, Battutā and Zilhijjā.

To elucidate the events, three maps have been added. The first map illustrates the Scientific Frontier of India, which has played an important part in her history since time immemorial and whose neglect cost our ancestors much. The second map gives the natural divisions of the Panjāb, mentioning almost all towns which were in existence during the period under study. The third map gives a complete picture of the Panjāb under the Sultāns, showing cities and towns, the mountains and the rivers, the trade routes then in use, and the route followed by Taimūr.

In the bibliography, mention is made only of those manuscripts, books, journals and publications which have been consulted in the preparation of this work.

Bakshhish Singh Nijjar

INTRODUCTION

Geographical and Geopolitical Aspect

THE PANJĀB

The word Panjāb derives from two Persian words "Panj" and "Āb" meaning "five" and "water", respectively. Thus, etymologically, it means the Land of Five-Waters (Rivers).¹ Ibn Battūtā, who entered Panjāb at the beginning of the year A. H. 734 (12th September, 1333 A. D.) writes : "We reached the Valley of Sind known as the Panjāb, which means five waters."² Generally it was taken to be the tract lying between the Indus and the Jamunā. The boundaries of the Panjāb have been shrinking and swelling from time to time over the last many centuries. In the Vedic period, the province was known as "Sapt-Sindhū" as it included all the territory covered by the seven rivers, namely the Indus (Sindhū), the Vitastā (Jhelum), the Akesines (Chenāb), the Parushni (Rāvi), the Vipās (Beās), the Sutdrā (Satluj) and the Saraswati.³ After some time, when the Greeks occupied this province, they called it Pentāpōtamiā, "Pentā" from Greek "Pente" meaning five and "Potamas" meaning rivers.⁴ In those days, there were thirty-seven flourishing cities and towns, but a few centuries later, i. e., after the Greek occupation, the Panjāb was named as Tāki.⁵ "The kingdom which Hwen Thsang calls Tsekia or Tāki, embraced the whole of the plains of the Panjāb from the Indus to the Beās, and from the foot of the mountains (Himālayās) to the junction of the five rivers (Panjnad), below Multān."⁶ It was called "Tāki" after a powerful tribe of that name which ruled here for a pretty long time.

It seems quite certain that the name must have been derived from the tribe of Tāks or Tākkas, who once were the undisputed lords of the Panjāb, and who still exist as numerous agricultural race in the lower hills between the Jhelum and the Rāvi. In the seventh century the kingdom of Tāki was divided into three provinces, namely, Tāki in the north and west, Shōrkōt in the east,

¹ *The Empire of the Great Mughal*—De Laet (Hoyland), p. 10.

² *The Rehla of Ibn Battūtā*—Mahdi Husain, pp. 1-2, 5.

³ It rises in Sirmūr District close to the borders of Ambālā District. It debouches on the plains at Ad Badri. A few miles farther to the south at the village of Bhavanipur and after a course of 110 miles it joins the Ghaggar in Patialā territory.

⁴ The Greeks name these rivers as Hypasis (Jhelum), Akesines (Chenāb), Hydrotēs (Rāvi). Hypeasis (Beās), and Zaradvos (Satluj).

⁵ *On Yuan Chowang's Travels in India*—Vol. II, Thomas Waters, p. 255

⁶ *The Ancient Geography of India*—Cunningham, p. 170.

and Multān in the south. According to A. C. Cunningham : "The province of Tāki comprised the plains of the Panjāb, lying between the Indus and the Beās, to the north of Multān District, or the whole of Chaj Doāb, together with the upper portions of the three Doābs of Sindh-Sāgar, Rechnā and Bāri."¹

During the Mughal period, this province was given the name of Subā-Lāhore. Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, describes its boundaries as under : "It is situated in the third climate. Its length from the river Satluj to the river Sind is 180 kos. Its breadth from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi,² one of the dependencies of Satgarh, is 86 kos. It is bounded on the East by Sirhind ; on the North by Kashmir ; on the South by Bikāner and Ajmer ; on the West by Multān. It has six principal rivers which all flow from the northern mountains."³

Manucci who visited India in the reign of Aurangzeb has described the Panjāb in these words : "It should be known that close to Bhakkar seven rivers unite,—five issuing from the kingdom of Lāhore, which have their sources in the mountains of Srinagar and Kashmir, and reach the province of Lāhore by five openings. This is why the Kingdom of Lāhore⁴ is called the Panjāb that is to say 'FIVE WATERS.'⁵ Sujān Rāi Bhandāri, the author of a celebrated contemporary work, entitled *Khulāsa-ut-Tawārikh* describes the boundary of the Panjāb during Shāh Jahān's reign : "In its length the Province extended from the river Satluj to the river Indus, a distance of 180 kos, and in its breadth extended from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi distance of 86 kos."⁶

The Panjāb, under the British rule lay between 27° 39' and 34° 2' N. and 69° 23' and 79° 2' E. On the north the Himālayān ranges divided the province from Kashmir and the North-West Frontier province. On the west, the Indus formed its main boundary with the later province, except that the Panjāb included the strip of riverain area which formed the Isā Khel Tehsil of Miānwāli District, west of that river. Its south-western extremity also laid west of the Indus and formed the large district of Derā Ghāzi Khan, thereby extending its frontier to the Sulaimān range, which divided it from Baluchistān. On the extreme south-west the province adjoined Sindh ; and the Rājputāna desert formed its southern

¹ *The Ancient Geography of India*—Cunningham, p. 176.
India and Pākistan—O. H. K. Spate. p. 463.

² *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkār (1949), p. 135.

³ Situated in the Gujrāt District.

⁴ The great city of Lāhore, which has been the capital of the Panjāb for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lavapur changed by the Persians into Lahāwar. Under this form it is mentioned by Abu Rehān, but the present form of the name Lāhore which was soon adopted by the Muslims, has now become the universal.

⁵ *Storia-do-Mogar*—Vol. II, Manucci (Irvine), p. 322.

⁶ *India of Aurangzeb*—J. N. Sarkar, p. LXII.

border. On the east, the Jamunā and its tributary Tons divided it from the Uttar Prādes̄h, its frontier north of the sources of the latter's rivers being contiguous with Tibet.¹

During the partition of 1947, the province was divided into two parts. The West Panjāb is a part of Pākistān and the East Panjāb is an important frontier State in the north-west of Indian Republic. A brutal dismemberment of the Panjāb, which took place in 1947, gave three rivers, namely the Jhelum, the Chenāb and the Rāvi to Pākistān and the other two namely, the Beās and the Satluj fell to the lot of the East Panjāb. Further reorganisation of the East Panjāb has split it up into three States viz, Panjābi speaking State, Hariānā Prānt and a part of the Himāchal Prādes̄h. Thus, the Panjāb of the Sultanate period is now parcelled into four independent units.

NATURAL DIVISIONS

The Panjāb is a triangular piece of land, lying between the Indus and the Jamunā. It was bounded on the north by the vast Himālayān range, on the west by the Sulaimān and Kirthār ranges, on the east by the river Jamunā and on the south by the Sindh and the Rajputāna deserts. On the basis of the natural divisions, the Panjāb may be divided into the following regions : (1) Mountain, (2) Submontane, (3) The Plains, (i) Ghaggar Plain, (ii) Indo-Panjāb Plain, Eastern (iii) Indo-Panjāb Plain, Western (iv) The North-West Upland.

1. The Mountain Ranges : This region is built up by the Himālayās² and the Sulaimān-Kōh. The Himālayās run across the whole of northern India from Assām in the east to Afghānistān in the west. They run in a south-east curve all along the northern frontier of India and separate from the plateau of Tibet, include several parallel ranges of lofty mountains, with deep valleys interspersed. They cover a region about 1,500 miles long and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. They served the purpose of a great wall of defence and protected Panjāb from the cold bleak winds of the North. It has an elevation of twenty thousand feet. Tibet, which from the point of view of physical geography includes a large and little known area in Kashmir to the north of Karākoram range is lofty, desolate, windswept plateau with a mean elevation of about fifteen thousand feet. In the part of it which is situated to the north of the north-west corner of Nepāl lies the Mānsarovar lake, in the neighbourhood of which three great Indian rivers, the Brahmaputrā, the Satluj and the Indus take their rise. This region always remains covered with snow.³

¹ *Cambridge History of India*—Vol. I, p. 32.

The Panjāb N.W.F. Province & Kashmir—Douie, pp. 3–6.

Jangnāmā—Qāzi-Nūr-ud-dīn, p. 158.

² The abode of snow.

³ *India and Pākistān*—O.H.K. Spate, pp. 463–467.

The Hindū-Kōh mountains which run from the Pāmirs in a south-westerly direction was regarded as the natural boundary of India in the north-west. Further south, Safed-Kōh, Sulaimān and Kirthār mountains were generally regarded as the north-western boundary of India, separating it from the tableland of Irān.

2. The Sub-Montane : This region is the lesser Himālayās, with an elevation of six to seven thousand feet. It has a rainfall from thirty to forty inches, the greater part of which is received during the period of the summer monsoon. In its lowest ridges, the Himālayā drops to a height of about five thousand feet, but it is a zone of the lowest hills interspersed sometimes with valleys or 'doons'. These consist of tertiary sandstones, clays, and boulder conglomerates, the debris in fact which Himālayā has dropped in the course of ages. To these hills and valleys the general name of Shivāliks is given. This region is practically restricted to the Districts of Ambālā, Hoshiārpur and Kāngrā, with its adjoining Him āchal States. The 'sāl' tree which is not found elsewhere to the west of the Jamunā, survives in a single 'doon' (strath) connected with the Kāngrā-Valley—but actually within the northern border of Hoshiārpur District. The Kiārda doon in Sirmūr State and the Kalesar forest in Ambālā, shelter a number of species that are abundant in the Shivālik tract, east of the Jamunā. The low hills of Attock, Rāwalpindi, Pabbi hills in Gujrāt, and Jhelum Districts belong to the same system, but the Salt-Range is only in part Shivālik. Altogether Shivālik deposits in the Panjāb cover an area of thirteen thousand square miles.¹

The mountain ranges of the Himālayās are a great boon for the people of the province. These mountains formed an admirable defensive rampart of the Panjāb against the foreign invasion by land. They present a formidable barrier to an army, though small bodies of traders and missionaries had been crossing over them through difficult routes. The mountains in the north-east, though not an equally effective barrier, have for all practical purposes served India well. They are so steep and so densely forest covered that to cross them is a task of abnormal difficulty, and no considerable body of foreigners is known to have passed through this route to the interior of the country.

Mountains in the north-west, however, have proved to be more vulnerable. There are several passes across the Hindu-Koh and along almost all the chief rivers in this region, viz the Sewāt and the Chitrāl running south, and the Kābul, the Kurram, the Tōchi and the Gōmal, running east to the Indus. These passes have played a dominant role in the Indian history. The melting snow from these mountains provide water to the rivers of the Panjāb which prosper the plains in many ways. The monsoon strike against the mountains and give plenty of rainfall. These are a vital source of

¹ *The Gates of India*—Thomas Holdich, pp. 135-136, 80-91, 243-244.
The Panjāb Peasant in Prosperity & Debt—M.L. Darling, p. 23.
Cambridge History of India—Vol. I. pp. 27-34.

the economic prosperity of the people since time immemorial and have also greatly added to the fertility and beauty of Panjāb's landscape.

3. The Plains. (a) The Ghaggar Plain : The eastern districts of the Ghaggar plain have a shorter and less severe cold weather than the western. The summer temperature ranges between 102° and 108° F. and gradually increases as one proceeds towards the west. The eastern half, being directly connected with the Gangetic basin, receives more rainfall than the western. The winter rains are scanty. This region covers the districts of Ambālā, Patialā, Karnāl, Rōhtak and Hissār i.e. the commissary of Ambālā. The Ghaggar river was once a stream of much greater importance, and a tributary of the Indus, which it joined below the junction of five rivers of the Panjāb near Mithankōt : the dry bed of its old course can still be traced far into Bahāwalpur territory.¹ The Ghaggar plain was later included in the province of Delhi during the period under our study.²

(b) The Indo-Panjab Plain Eastern : This plain roughly formed the Subā of Lāhore, including some portions of the province of the North-West Frontier Province. It had a long cold weather season. Summer temperature ranges between 102° and 107° F. Summer rainfall varied from 15 to 20 inches and the winter rainfall averaged about 3 inches. This comprised the commissaries of Rāwalpindi, Lāhore and Jullundur.²

(c) The Indo-Panjab Plain Western : It formed the Subā of Multān, comprising the districts of Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Multān, Muzzaffargarh and Derā Ghāzi Khan. This plain has a severe cold weather, with great diurnal range of temperature because of the predominance of the sandy tracts. Summer temperature is the highest in the province and ranges between 105° and 110° F. It has a rainfall of five to fifteen inches. It is not much benefited by any of the monsoon currents. It is the driest part of India excepting the Thār desert zone. At Multān there are normally only fifteen days in the year when rain falls.

(d) The North-West Upland : This plain extended up to the Hindū-Kōh, the outer frontier of India. It has a longer and a

¹ *The Panjāb N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*—Douie, pp. 46-47, 227-234.

The Land of the Five Rivers—Trevaskis, p. 10.

² (i) *Lāhore* : Lāhore, Amritsar, Gurdāspur, Siālkot, Gujrānwāla and Shaikhupura Districts.

(ii) *Rāwalpindi* : Rāwalpindi, Shāhpur, Jhelum, Gujrāt, Attock and Miānwali District.

(iii) *Jullundur* : Jullundur, Kāngrā, Hoshiārpur, Ludhiānā, Ferozepur districts and the other erstwhile plain and hill states.

(iv) *Ambālā* : Ambālā, Karnāl, Rohtak, Hissār, Gurgāon districts and Phulkiān states.

colder winter and spring. The summer temperature ranges between 100° and 105° F. The winter rains are heavier than in any other part of the plains, and last till April. The summer rains are late, and diminish as one proceeds towards the west of the area. Average rainfall varies from thirteen to thirty inches.¹

The plains of the Panjāb consisted of one vast alluvial plain, broken only by the wide and often shifting channels of its five rivers. The average height of this area is not more than one thousand feet above sea level. The fine but rigorous climate of the province has helped in breeding a hardy martial race capable of enduring the extremes of climate. The dryness of the climate has given prominence to the question of water supply. The success or failure of a crop in the Panjāb depended on water supply. Thus naturally, prior to the introduction of modern elaborate schemes of irrigation, the rivers played a very important part in the life of the people and were the deciding factors in the allocation of agricultural areas as well as the distribution of population. As agriculture has always been the mainstay of the inhabitants carrying sediment from the hills, the rivers of the Panjāb have formed alluvial deltas of considerable extent. Their perennial supply of water is an inexhaustible source of irrigation. Their long lazy courses through broad valleys have not only made the lands fertile, but have provided good highways of communication. The scantiness of rainfall affected the vegetable growth of the areas away from the river and flooded areas hence such tracts were used for grazing.

North-West-Frontier Passes And Trade Routes

The difficulties of access from Central Asia through the lowlands of Bactria and on the Oxus to the valley head of Kābul lie rather in the approaches to the North-West Frontier passes than in the passes themselves, but the invaders have been surmounting these difficulties, and the Hindū-Kōh, though the natural boundary of India north-west ward, has been no effective barrier either in a military or commercial sense. The Hindū-Kōh forms the north-eastern bastion of the great plateau of Irān, comprising the modern Afghānistān, Baluchistān and Irān, which flanks India to the north-west.

One route for invaders from the north-west, was from the Oxus valley over the Hindū-Kōh to Kābul and thence down the Kābul valley to the Indus. Another led from the Caspian sea to Herāt and thence straight through the mountains to Kābul, or by an easier detour skirting the Afghān high lands to Qandhār and thence through Ghazni to Kābul. Between it and the Indus lies the Sulaimān range, skirting the Panjāb and Sindh, and forming the western frontier of India. These mountains are as lofty and imposing as the Pir Panjāl, but these are not so continuous, and are traversed by several routes, which though difficult, are quite practicable for large armies. "These are the outlets through Afghāni-

¹ *India and Pākistān*—O H.K. Spate, pp. 463-465.

stān by which Alexander the Great and all subsequent invaders have descended upon the low country of the Panjāb ; and any one who, after traversing the interminable hill and stony valleys of Afghānistān, has been, on surmounting the last ridge, the vast plain of India spreading out before him in the dusky haze like a sea, may imagine the feelings with which such a prospect was surveyed by those adventurous leaders, when they first looked down upon it from the Asiatic high lands."¹

Throughout the early Turkish period, the north-frontier of India remained very vulnerable, for the conquering hordes from Afghānistān were always tempted to cross the Indus and invariably threatened the Panjāb. In the north-west, there are several passes across the Hindū-Kōh and along almost all the chief rivers—in the region viz, the Swāt, the Chitrāl, the Kābul, the Kurram, the Tōchi and the Gōmal. Through these passes the invaders raided the Panjāb from time to time and established their kingdoms here. A brief detail of these passes is given below :

1. Khaibar Pass : This has been the most leading pass, which begins near Jamrūd, ten and a half miles west of Peshāwar and twists through the hills for about thirty-three miles in a north-westerly direction till it debouches at Dakkā. The Khaibar mountains form indeed, the last spurs of the Safed-Kōh, as that mighty range sinks down into the valley of the Kābul river. This pass has always been the great northern route from Afghānistān into India and the most important points in this route are Ali-Masjid, (ten miles from Jamrūd), Landi Kōtal (the summit of the pass ; ten miles farther) ; and Tor Kham. Mahmūd of Ghazni invaded the Panjāb through this pass, when he marched upon Jaipāl in 1000-1002.² The Khaibar route leads directly across the plains of the Panjāb to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains and it has been more frequently used by the foreign invaders to invade India.

2. Kurram : Next to Khaibar, lies the Kurram river which lies between the Paiwar Kōtal in the west and the borders of Miranzāi in the east. Its maximum length from that to the Paiwar Kōtal is seventy-two miles as the crow flies and its breadth varying from twelve to twenty-four miles. Bounded on the north by the Safed-Kōh, which separates it from Vingarbar, it adjoins para Chamkani and the country of the Massozāi on the east, its south-eastern corner abutting on the Miranzāi country of Kohāt District. From Khōst Khōram, the highest peak of the Kurram river range descends a spur through whose extremity the Kurram river appears to have cut a passage opposite Saddā, and which divides the valley into two parts, Upper and Lower Kurram. Rising in the hills near Ahmedkhel, it flows at first south-west ward, and then turns sharply to the east entering the Agency of Kurram near Khartachi

¹ *The Rise of the British Dominion in India*—Lyall, VIII-I.

² *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Text p. 23.
Tahqat-i-Nasiri—Vol I, Raverty, p. 76.

and thence flowing due east to Kurram Fort. East of that place its trend is somewhat southward ; and at Sandū it turns sharply to the south until it reaches Maro Khel, whence it curves south-east as far as Thal in Kohāt District.

Muhammad Ghōri used to halt at Kirmān, one of the most important villages of the Kurram-Valley, every year on his way into India. On his last expedition of India, he conferred on Tāj-ud-din, thereby designating him his successor, and after his assassination, his body was taken back to Ghazni through Kurram.¹ Humāyūn who held Kābul in 1552, occupied it before his conquest of India. Under Akbar it formed part of the Toman of Bangash or the Bangshat, being known as Upper Bangash to distinguish it from Lower Bangash, now the Kohāt District. The Afghāns of this tract were the disciples of Piri-Rōshan and hence became known as Rōshaniās. These sectaries led the Afghān opposition to Mughal rule and Kurram formed one of their chief strongholds. The line of advance into Afghānistān through the Kurram-Valley is easy, and Lord Roberts used it when he marched towards Kābul in 1898. The road to Kābul leaves far to the south before it crosses at Paiwār Kōtal.²

3. The Tochi Pass : Between the Kurram-Valley and the Gōmal river is a large block of very rough mountainous country known as Wazirstāni after the turbulent clan which occupies it. In the north it is drained by the Tōchi. Westward of the Tōchi-Valley, the country rises into lofty mountains. The upper Waters of the Tōchi and its affluents drain two fine glens known as Birmal and Shawal to the west of the country of the Mahsūd wazirs. The Tōchi-Valley is the direct route from India to Ghazni and about nine centuries ago, when that decayed town was the capital of a powerful kingdom, it must have often heard the tramp of the armed men. The loftiest peaks of Tōchi-Valley are Wazirstān, Shuidar, Pirghāl overhang Birmāl. An alternative route from Kābul lies through Bannū and the Kurram-Valley to a point lower down the Indus, a route from Ghazni through the Tōchi-Valley.³

4. The Gomāl Pass : East of Kajūri Kach the Gōmal route passes through tribal territory from where it debouches into the plains of the District of Derā Ismāil Khan. Down it there pours yearly a succession of caravans led and followed by thousands of well armed Pathān traders. This route leads along the valley of the Gōmal river, through the southern Wazirstān, from Murtazā and Domandi, on the borders of Afghānistān and Baluchistān to the Afghān plateau. It is one of the oldest and most frequented trade routes between southern Afghānistān and the Indus-Valley.⁴

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Text, pp. 57-59.

² *The Panjāb N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*—Douie, pp. 24, 295-296.
The Vedic Age—Vol. I, Bhāratiya Bhawan, pp. 92, 242-243.

³ *Imperial Gazetteer*—N.W.F. Province (1908), pp. 246, 247.119.
The Land of the Five Rivers—Trevaskis, p. 7.

⁴ *Sher Shāh*—Qānūngo (1921), p. 2.

5. The Bolan Pass : Far to the south lies this route from Qandhār through Quettā and the Bōlan to Sakhar on the Indus. But here invaders, and the conquerors of the Lower-Indus were blocked by the desert striking eastwards for the great cities of the plains of the province.¹ This pass was less important as gateway of India than the others. For, just beyond the region where it debouches into the Panjāb Plain, stretches the great desert of Rājasthān, which bars access to the interior of India. The Khaibar route on the other hand as stated above, leads directly across the plains of the Panjāb to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains.

6. Mala Kand : This pass crosses the range north of Peshāwar, and leads from Sam Rānizāi into the Swāt-Valley, which is traversed by an ancient Buddhist road. Zain Khān Kōkā, a general of Akbar, had built a fort there, in 1587.²

7. Chitrāl : Chitrāl is the Pathān country which ends at the Lowari pass. Beyond, right up to the main axis of the Hindū-Kōh is Chitrāl. It comprises the basin of the Yārkūn or Chitrāl river from its distant source in the Shawar-Shur glacier to Arnawāi, where it receives from the west the waters of the Bashgul, and is thenceforth known as the Kunar. Its western boundary is the Duran line, which follows a lofty chain sometimes called the Kāfirstān range. Another great spur of the Hindū-Kōh known as the Shandur range divides Chitrāl on the east from the basin of the Vasin river and the territories included in the Gilgit Agency.³

8. Tibet Passes : The trade with Tibet is carried over lofty passes. Among these are the following : The Kangwā-Lā (15,500 feet) on the Indian-Tibet Road, through Simlā, the Mana (18,000 feet), Niti (16,570 feet) and Balcha Dhūrā, in Garhwāl, the Antā Dhūrā (17,270 feet). Lampujā Dhūrā (18,000 feet). These were the main passes of the Tibet which were commonly known as trade routes. No foreign invader overcame through these passes so far but the Chinese are now trying to penetrate into India through these passes.⁴

9. Kashmir And Central Asian Passes : These smaller trade routes which pass through Kashmir are among the Central Asian trade routes over the Western Himālayās. *Bara Lacha* : Mountain pass through the Lahūl canton of the Kulū sub-division of Kāngrā district is a trade route from Darchā in Lahūl to the Rupshu country in Ladākh. *Rohtang Pass* : In the Kulu sub-division

¹ *Gates of India*—Thomas Holdich, pp. 143-144.

² *The Panjāb N.W.F.P. and Kashmir*—Douie, p. 305.

Imperial Gazetteer—Provincial Series N.W.F. Vol. I, p. 221.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 210-212.

⁴ *Gazetteer of the Himālayān Districts in the N.W. United Provinces*—F.F. Atkins, pp. 13-23.

Narrative of a Journey to Mānsarowar-Geographical Journal—Vol. XV p. 150.

of Kāngrā district is across the Himālayān range which divides the Kulū-Valley from Lahūl. This pass leads from Kōksar in Lahūl to Rolla in Kōthi Manāli or Kulū. The high road to Leh and Yārkand from Kulū and Kāngrā goes over this pass, which is practicable for laden mules and ponies.¹

The effects of physical features of the Panjāb have exercised a great influence on its history. Placed, as it is, by nature in a locality which gives it a crowning position, and serving as the gateway to India, every invader from the north has, by its possession, sought the road to fame. In pre-historic times, it was presumably, the Panjāb that was first invaded by the Aryans from their camping beyond the snowy ranges of the stupendous Himālayās.² Thus on account of its geographical position, the Panjāb has played the role of a gateway of India, because it was through these passes that the invaders entered India.³

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India—(Panjāb)—Vol. I, pp. 383-384, 391-392.*

² *History of the Panjāb—Mohd. Latif, preface-1.*

³ *Studies in the Later Mughal History of Panjāb—H.R. Gupta, p. 7.*

CHAPTER I

Yamini Dynasty 1000-1186 A. D.—The Ghaznavids

The political condition of the Panjāb on the eve of the Turkish invasion was not good, as India was divided into numerous small states. In the tenth century, a dynasty of Hindū Princes, with their capital at Waihind,¹ ruled the territory Lamghān to Sirhind² and from the southern Kashmir hills to the frontier of the kingdom of Multān. The principal cities of this region were Kābul, Peshāwar, Waihind, Lāhore and Jāllandar. Lalliya,³ the founder of this dynasty, was the *wazir* of the last sovereign of the Hindū-Shāhiyā dynasty,⁴ named Lagatūrmān.⁵ In the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.⁶ Lalliya deposed Lagatūrmān and usurped the throne but on the death of Lalliya, a representative of the late Hindū-Shāhiyā dynasty named Sāmāntdeva⁷ regained the throne.⁸ He was succeeded by Bhīm or Bhimpāl, who was the grand-father of the famous queen Diddā, wife of Rājā Kshemgupta, the ruler of Kashmir from 980 to 1030 A. D.⁹ Bhimpāl was succeeded by Jaipāl about 960 A.D., who soon came into conflict with the rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Ghazni.

To the south of the Hindū-Shāhiyā kingdom lay the Shīa kingdom of Multān, and the principality of Mansūra where an Arab dynasty held authority. To the east lay the kingdoms of Tomārs at Delhi, Pratihārs at Kanauj and Kāshi, Chandelās at Mahobā and Kālinjar, Parmārs in Mālwa and Solankis in Gujrāt. There were similar states in other parts of the country too. The rulers, in most of these states were Rājpuṭs. The form of their government was a feudal monarchy. Almost all these Indian rulers were fired with territorial ambitions and were constantly at war with their neighbours.

¹ Waihind is modern Hund. It is called Udabhandan by Kalhana, situated, fifteen miles above Attock. (*Ancient Geography of India*—Cunningham, pp. 53-54).

Rājtarangini—Vol. II, A. Stien, pp. 336-338.

² J.R.A.S. (1927), pp. 485-486.

The Early History of India—V.A. Smith, p. 396.

³ *Rājtarangini*—Vol. II, A. Stien, pp. 336-339.

⁴ They claimed descent from king Kanishkā of the Kushān dynasty.

⁵ *Al-Biruni's India*—Vol. II, Sachau, p. 13.

⁶ *Rājtarangini*—Vol. II, A. Stien, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*—Vol. I, A. Stien, p. 105.

Subuktigin, a slave and son-in-law of Alaptigin became the king of Ghazni in April, 977. In the first twelve years of his reign he extended his frontiers to the Oxus in the north and approximately to the present boundary between Afghānistān and Irān. In spite of his constant occupation in Central Asian politics, he began to raid the Panjāb. Thus Rājā Jaipāl was driven to desperation by his slow diminution of his ancestral kingdom, though for more than three hundred years the Hindu-Shāhiyā kings had fought bravely in self defence, against the invaders.

Jaipal Invaded Ghazni 986-987: The rise of this powerful kingdom, naturally disturbed Jaipāl and created fears and misgivings, especially when his dominions lay contiguous to those of Subuktigin. Therefore, he had either to arrest rising tide of the Ghaznavid power or forego his claims to political supremacy and risk the political existence of his own kingdom. He decided upon the former course; and despite opposition and protestation of the whole council of his ministers, both Brāhmins and Kashatris, he marched upon Ghazni.¹ The first great clash between the armies of Islām and those of the Panjābis took place at Lamghān in the Khaibar pass.²

The Panjābis fought bravely but a sudden snowstorm created consternation³ among them and Jaipāl was forced to sue for peace. Mahmūd was in favour of carrying on the war till Jaipāl was beaten but Subuktigin fearing that if the Hindūs, as they had threatened to do in despair, burnt themselves with all their valuables, he would lose the rich peace-offerings, consented to come to terms.⁴ The Rājā promised to pay an indemnity of ten 'Lākh' 'dirhems'⁵ fifty elephants and to cede some forts and towns on the frontier. As a security for the fulfilment of these terms, Jaipāl left some of his kinsmen as hostages and returned to the Panjāb. Once back in safety, Jaipāl repudiated his promise and took prisoners, the officers of the Sultān who had been sent to take the charge of the ceded forts and towns.⁶

When Subuktigin came to know of the breach of faith, he marched upon the Rājā to punish him for his treachery. Jaipāl was also fully prepared to check that foreseen calamity. He once again organised a confederacy of the Hindu rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj and Kalinjar,⁷ in 986 A. D.⁸, and advanced towards the

1 *Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Utbi-E&D. Vol. II, p. 19

2 *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 16.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.* p. 17.

5 *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol I, Raverty, p. 74

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol I, Briggs, p. 16

Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni—Mohd. Habib, pp. 15-16,

Tārīkh-i-Yamini—Utbi E&D-Vol.II. p. 21.

6 *Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Utbi-pp. 4-15.

7 *History of Mediaeval India*—Vol. III, Yaidya, p. 25.

8 *Sultān Mahmud of Ghazni*—Mohd. Habib, p. 14.

frontier with one 'Lakh'¹ of his soldiers and arrayed on the confines of Lamghān to hurl back the Muslim invaders.

But superior generalship of Subuktigin brought him victory this time also. The Sultān had divided his army into contingents of five hundred each and had ordered them to attack the Hindū forces with utmost violence in successive waves and to retreat, before their force was spent, to the rear of their own army while another contingent led the attack. This tired out the Hindūs who had been fighting without any respite. At the close of the day the entire Turkish army made a united charge. The Hindūs worried by ceaseless fighting could not withstand it and suffered a complete defeat². Subuktigin levied heavy contributions on the west of the Indus and making Peshāwar and Lamghān the eastern boundary of dominions, appointed one of his officers, with ten thousand horse³, to govern the conquered country. After this affair Subuktigin's attention was diverted towards the Samanid empire. He did not attempt the conquest of the Panjāb, but he certainly demonstrated to the outside world the political and military inefficiency of the Hindū-Shāhiyā rulers and paved the way for the subsequent Muslim invaders from the North-west frontiers of India.

SULTĀN MAHMŪD 1000-1030

Mahmūd was familiar with some parts of the Panjāb, bordering on the banks of the river Indus, and his zeal for the propagation of Islām, as well as the confidence he reposed in the bravery of his troops, soon impelled him to undertake an invasion of the Panjāb.⁴

The first of Mahmūd's expedition was directed against the frontier towns and forts of the Khaibar pass in the month of September, 1000,⁵ which resulted in the capture of some frontier towns and a few forts.⁶

Battle of Peshawar And Waihind-1002-1003 : Next year he left Ghazni in 1000-1002, with 15,000 horse and advanced to Peshāwar, where Jaipāl Rājā of Panjāb was prepared to meet him with twelve thousand horse, thirty thousand foot and three hundred

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Text. p. 19.

² *The Struggle for Empire*—Vol. I, p. 4.
Tārīkh-i-Yamīni—Utbi-E&D, Vol. II, p. 23.

³ Farīshṭā says, "Two thousand horse" Text, p. 25.
"Two hundred horses", says Utbi, E&D, Vol. II, p. 24.

⁴ "Jaipāl tried to take back what Subuktigin had conquered of his kingdom and attacked Mahmūd who marched from Ghazni to repel the invasion" (*Majmā-ul-Absār*—Muhammad-bin-Ali-f. 231 b).

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 36.
Struggle for the Empire, p. 6.
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 76.

⁶ Muhammad Nāẓim writes "Many forts" (*The Life and Times of Mahmūd of Ghaznī*, p. 86).

elephants.¹ Jaipāl avoided taking direct action, for some time, awaiting the arrival of more troops from the tribal area. Mahmūd realised the situation and attacked the enemy without further delay. The Sultān followed the tactics of his father and dividing his troops into a number of regiments sent them to attack in successive waves. Jaipāl put up a very stiff resistance, but his army, unable to stand the cavalry charge made by the Muslims, fled from the field. Rājā Jaipāl, with his fifteen principal chiefs was taken prisoner by the victorious Mahmūd who acquired a necklace of enormous value worn by Rājā Jaipāl and many precious jewels worn by his fifteen chiefs who were² captured along with him.³ "The necklace which was taken off the neck of Jaipāl, composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thousand dinārs; and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners or slain. Five thousand Hindūs died on the battle field."⁴ Mahmūd marched further and captured Waihind a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus, about fifteen miles above Attock on the old high road from Lāhore to Peshāwar, where some Hindūs had assembled together to give another battle.⁵ Mahmūd despatched an army against them, and dispersed them with a great deal of slaughter.

Rājā Jaipāl agreed to pay twenty-five thousand 'dinārs' and hundred and fifty elephants, but as the ransom was not at once forthcoming, was obliged to leave hostages for its payment. His son Anandpāl made good the deficiency and the hostages were released before Mahmūd returned to Ghazni.⁶ Instead of his returning to his capital, Jaipāl, feeling deeply the ignominy of his capture and imprisonment preferred death to dishonour and burnt himself on a funeral pyre.⁷

Such was the memorable battle fought on the plains of Peshāwar, fought in 1001 A.D. which put an end to the dominion of the Hindūs to the west of the Indus and even their future existence there. At this stage Mahmūd could not traverse the whole of the Panjāb with his limited force. It was only after this huge plunder

¹ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi-E&D, Vol. II. p. 25.
The Struggle for the Empire, p. 6.

² *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 24.

³ "And amongst the spoils gained there were sixteen necklaces inlaid with precious stones that were worn by Jaipāl alone being valued at £8, 200" (*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 15).

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi-E&D, Vol. II, p. 26.
Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni—Mohd. Habib. p. 24.
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 74.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi-E&D, p. 28.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi-E&D, p. 27.
Majma-ul-Absār—Muhammad-bin-Ali, p. 2316.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 38.
The Struggle for the Empire, pp. 6-7.
Tārikh-i-Yamini—Vol. II, Utbi-E&D, p. 27.

that thousands of trans-frontier Turks and Afghāns flocked to the conquering Mahmūd's banner every autumn, asking for no pay but only permission to plunder in his train.

The Conquest of Bhatia¹-1004 1005 : After his return from the Panjāb it is said that Mahmūd did not get the regular instalments of tribute from Bāji Rāi², the ruler of Bhātia,³ who being bitterly hostile to the Muslims, molested the Muslim governors whom Mahmūd had appointed in the country before he had returned to Ghazni. But it seems that the Rājā of Bhātia was a powerful independent king to the south-west of Multān who laid claim to the territory on the western side of the Indus and incited the people there against the foreign rule.

Mahmūd found Bhātia fortified with a high wall and surrounded by a deep broad ditch. "The Rājā drew up his Rājput army in order of battle, the Indians charged the Muslims so desperately that the latter were repulsed in several engagements during successive days. All strong positions were held by the Hindūs, and so severe was the loss sustained by the Muslim troops that they were on point of abandoning the field."⁴ But the Rājā was defeated near Uch,⁵ and was compelled to flee for refuge to the jungles on the banks of the river Indus. When Mahmūd learnt of his flight, he sent off a contingent in hot pursuit. Bāji Rāi was soon taken by surprise, and surrounded by the Muslim army. As there was no way of escape left for him, he put an end to his life by plunging his dagger into his heart, and his attendants fell fighting bravely with the enemy.⁶ A general massacre of the Hindu troops started. Two hundred and eighty⁷ elephants, with a large number of slaves, fell into the hands of Mahmūd, who after plundering Uch, remained there for some time, engaged in making arrangements for permanent annexation of this country and the conversion of the people.

Capture of Multan 1005-1006 : Abdul Fateh Dāūd was the grandson of Sheikh Hamid Lawi⁸, the ruler of Multān who had

¹ This place has variously been identified : with Bherā, situated on the left bank of the Jhelum ; Uch, situated on the left bank of the Panjnad river, Bhattinda, fifty-six miles from Ferozepur and Bhatner, but none of these identifications can be regarded as authentic.

² Bāji Rāi of Bhatner says *Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 24.

³ The Modern Uch. Elliot supposes it to be Bherā—*History of India* Vol. II, E&D, p. 44.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 24.

⁵ Uch is an ancient city situated on the left bank of the Panjnad river.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, pp. 29-30, *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 40.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, p. 30 says "120 elephants."

⁸ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 24. *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, p. 29.

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acknowledged an allegiance to Subuktigin. Getting dissatisfied with him, Mahmūd attacked partly because Dāūd was the supporter of Shiāism and also because he opposed Mahmūd's troops passing his land. Dāūd had also shaken his allegiance from Mahmūd in 1005. So Mahmūd marched against him, in the autumn of 1005 and in order to avoid the passage of the rivers in their lower waters being risky, he marched by way of Waihind then in the dominions of Anandpāl, in spring March-April, 1006.¹ The Rājā opposed the advance of Mahmūd in the hills of Peshāwar, but was defeated and fled into Kashmir, where he was hotly pursued by the Sultan through the Panjāb up to the town of Sodra² and plundered the country in his advance to Kashmir.³

Mahmūd marched to Multān by way of Bhatinda. He now found an easy route to Multān and reached there, without encountering any opposition, besieged the city for seven days, and forced the defenders to capitulate. The people who had endured extreme hardship, were forced to pay two krór (2,00,00,000) *dirhams*. Abdul Fateh Dāūd was, however, allowed to rule over the kingdom on the promise to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand *dirhams* and to follow the tenets of Islam.⁴

Sukhapal Nawasa Shah—1007 : Mahmūd had to retrace his steps back to Ghazni as he received news of the invasion of the northern part of his kingdom by the Turks. He left the affairs of the Panjāb in the hands of Sukhapāl⁵, grandson of Jaipāl, who was formerly converted to Islam under the name of Nawāsā Shāh, to look after the affairs of the country conquered by him. Soon after the departure of Mahmūd to Ghazni, Sukhapāl expelled all the officers appointed by the Sultān from all their respective administrative key posts. He also renounced Islam and made an alliance with the Hindū chiefs. This led Mahmūd to invade the Panjāb again in 1007.⁶ "Sukhapāl was defeated, his treasure captured which he had amassed. He was imprisoned for life. The Sultān "re-

(Contd. from previous page)

Farishtā—p. 24, has erroneously written Lodi and the error has been repeated by Sir W. Haig (C.H.I.-Vol. III). The Lodis were Afghāns ; and according to Raverty, there were no Lodis nor Lodi rulers in Multān at that time (*Studies in India-Muslim History*-S.H. Hodivālā, p. 141)

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Abu Nasr Mohd. Utbi-Lāhore edition, p. 211

² The modern Wazirābād, situated on the bank of the Chenāb.

³ *Tārīkh i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 25.

Tārīkh-i-Yamini—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, p. 32.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, pp. 21-22.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 25 Mohd. Habib says that "While returning from Multān he (Mahmūd) had assigned the governorship of Bharā (Bhatner) to Sukhapāl (Nawāsā Shāh) a son of Anandpāl who had been converted to Islām" (*Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni*-Mohd. Habib, p. 25). *Farishtā*—gives "Sukhapāl was one of the princes of a Hindū Rājā, p. 25.

⁶ 396 A. H. *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 24.

assumed the government, and then cut down the harvest of idolatry with the sickle of his sword and spear."¹ Mahmūd again left for Ghazni.

Second Battle of Waihind—1008: The treacherous conduct of Anandpāl, for his opposition to the passage of Sultān's army through his dominions on its way to Multān, resolved on inflicting a severe chastisement on him. Waihind, the capital of the Hindū-Shāhiyā kingdom, situated on the Jhelum was very important for Mahmūd to possess, before he could strike at multān, and it was finally conquered, but much was not to be got out of that barren country. Therefore the gates of India were in Anandpāl's possession. Anandpāl's attempt to prevent Mahmūd's march on Multan had furnished the latter with a technical cause for declaring war.

In the autumn of 1008², Mahmūd marched to Peshāwar. Anandpāl, backed by allies from other parts of India moved with this "measureless multitude", assembled on the soil of the Panjāb came in sight of the plains of Chhachh near Hazro in the Attock District,³ under the command of his son, Brahmapāl, and its numbers continued to increase daily. Anandpāl received a considerable accession of strength and the army which he now led into the field against the Muslims was a very different force from that which Mahmūd had so easily brushed aside on his way to Multān. The Gakhars⁴, a powerful hill tribe in the north-west of the Panjāb, joined the confederate armies with thirty thousand fighting men. "A patriotic breeze swept over the towns and hamlets of Hindustan calling its men to arms. Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Muslimāns. The poorer people, who had no jewels to sell, worked feverishly at the spinning wheel or as hired labourers to be able to send something to the men of the army."⁵

Anandpāl's army was encamped between Waihind and Peshāwar, and Muslims lay in camp before it, for forty days without venturing to attack it; Mahmūd protected his flanks with entrenchments and instead of following his usual impetuous tactics strove to entice the enemy to attack Anandpāl's army. In this he succeeded when he sent six thousand archers to the front, to provoke to the Hindus to advance against the entrenchments. The archers were accordingly attacked by the Gakhars and repulsed the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi, E&D, p 33

² 29th Rubi-us-Sāni, 399 A. H. (*Tārīkh-i-Yamini*—Abu Nasr Muhammad Utbi, p. 211

Zain-ul-Akhbār—Abu Saïd Gardizī, p. 69

³ *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*—Vol. III-C.V. Vaidya (1926), pp. 49-50

⁴ The Gakhars inhabit the eastern district of Jhelum, the dominant race at the period of first Muslim invasion and their chieftains were the most prosperous. The colony of Gakhars in the vicinity of Jhelum is supposed to have been of Turanian origin who settled there during the invasion of India by Darius Hytaspes, about 513 B.C

⁵ *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznin*—Mohd. Habib, p. 27-29.

Muslims. The Hindūs penetrated into the Muslim troops with thousand Muhammadans being put to the sword in a very short time."¹

Mahmūd meditated a retreat seeing the horrible execution of his troops by Hindū army, when all of a sudden an unfortunate incident decided the battle in favour of the Sultān. Anandpāl's elephant fled and took him away from the field. The Hindū troops which were fighting, even barefooted, bare-headed and armed with strange weapons, took it as a signal for flight and dispersed. A great terror and confusion spread among the Hindūs who pursuing their king deserted the field and retreated in great disorder. Under the command of Abdullah Tāi, six thousand Arabian horse and Arslān Jazib with ten thousand Turks, Afghāns and Khalijis jumped out of their entrenchments, pursued the enemy with great slaughter, slaying eight thousand and capturing thirty elephants with much other plunder.² This battle near Peshāwar "lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains, and hills."³ Such was the momentous battle fought at Waihind in 1008 between the Hindūs and the Muslims. The Hindū-Shāhiyā rulers, after this battle, no doubt, continued in strength in the Panjāb for a time, but the blow was very severe.

Nagarkot—1008 : After this victory, Mahmūd's next target was the sacred town and the fortress of Nagarkot,⁴ famous for its wealth. According to 'Utbi' the fort of Kāngrā was called Bhimnagar in those days, from a mythical ancestor of the Katoch family, possibly a former Rājā by whom it was founded, or perhaps from Bhim-Sen, the hero of the Mahābhārata. So little had Mahmūd's victory and subsequent advance been expected that the fortress had been left without a garrison, and was occupied only by the Brahmans and servants of the temple. They opened the gates of the temple and begged for mercy. The Sultān entered the fort with Abu Nāsr Ahmed, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains Altuntash and Asightigin, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy million royal 'dirhams', and the gold and silver ingots amounted to 7,00,400⁵ 'mans' in weight, besides

¹ *History of the Panjāb*—Muhammad Latif, p. 88.

² *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 26.

The Struggle for Empire—Vol. V, p. 9.

³ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi-E & D, p. 34.

⁴ The Fort of Nagarkot (Kāngrā), to which great local prestige attaches, is situated about the Bāngangā, near its confluence with the river Beās. It is three miles in extent. (*Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Abu-Nāsr-Utbi, p. 224.)

⁵ According to Farishtā, a 'man' of Alā-ud-din's times was equal to 12 'seers' and according to Thomas' calculations it was equal to 14 'seers' of today. (*History of the Khaljis*—K. S. Lal, p. 271).

wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus'....." Among the booty was a folding house of white silver, measuring 30×15 yards like the house of a rich man, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen."¹ "It was at Nagarkot that idols were broken and the temple was razed to the ground for the first time by the foreigners."²

After its capture, the fort was consigned to the care of an officer of rank with a garrison, and Mahmūd took his departure for Ghazni about the end of the year 399 A. H. (June 1009 A. D.). On his arrival there he caused a carpet to be spread in the courtyard of his palace and exhibited it to the wondering eyes of his subjects."³

Capture of Nandana-1013 : After the death of Anandpāl, Mahmūd renewed his hostility against the Hindū-Shāhiyās⁴ and advanced with his army in the winter of 1013⁵, to crush the power of Rājā Trilochanpāl, the son and the successor of Anandpāl. As soon as Mahmūd reached the border of the Panjāb his passage was blocked by a heavy fall of snow. The roads, passes and valleys were all lost under the snow drifts. After two months' troublesome journey over the hills and dales, and across torrential and deep rivers of the Panjāb, the Sultān reached the vicinity of Nandanā.⁶ He now divided his cavalry into three groups placing Amir Nāsr, Arslān Jazib, and Abū Abdullā Muhammad in charge of each of them, and the central part of the army was placed under the command of Altuntash. Trilochanpāl, who was not prepared for the sudden invasion, put the whole of his army under the command of his son Bhimpāl and sent invitations to his vassals to join him with their forces: "Mahmūd was once more forced to fight the kingdom of Lāhore. The Ghazanvids moved forward once more ascending the hills like mountain goats and descending them like torrents of water. Nidar, the fearless, Bhimpāl fortified himself in the Margalā Pass, which was narrow precipitous and steep, but on the arrival of his vassals, he came down and offered battle'.⁷

An all round battle continued for some time, and though the Hindū-Shāhiyās fought bravely and contested every inch of ground,

¹ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi-E & D—Vol. II, pp. 34-35.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, pp. 26-27.

² *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Abu Nāsr—Utbi—pp. 224-226.
Zain-ul-Akhbār—Abu Saīd Gardizi, pp. 69-70.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text pp. 26-27.

³ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Abu Nāsr—Mohd. Utbi, p. 226.
Zain-ul-Akhbār—Abu Nāsr—Gardizi, p. 70.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi—Vol. II, E & D, p. 36.

⁵ 404 A. H. *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Text—Vol. I, p. 27.
Tārikh-i-Yamini—Vol. II, Utbi-E & D, p. 37.
Tārikh-i-Māsudi... Baihaqi—Edited by Morley. p. 841.

⁶ Nandanā is in Pind Dādan Khan tahsil of Jhelum District, fourteen miles west of Choā Saidan Shāh. Utbi calls it Nārdin while Gardizi and Baihaqi call it Nandunā.

⁷ *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni* Mohd. Habib, p. 34.

they were ultimately routed. Bhimpāl, along with his father, withdrew to the valley of Kashmir. Mahmūd lost no time to chase the fleeing Shāhiyās. The western and the central portions of the Hindū-Shāhiyā kingdom were now annexed to the empire of Ghazni.¹

Mahmūd marched from Nandanā towards the Kashmir valley where Trilochanpāl had rallied his surviving forces. Though Shāhiyās resisted even there, they were again defeated. Trilochanpāl fled to Sirhind. On this occasion Mahmūd had immense booty, and men of respectability in their native land, were degraded by making them slaves of common shopkeepers in Ghazni.²

Conquest of Thanesar—1014 : Plunder of the Indian wealth made Mahmūd ever greedy and had attracted him to invade India time and again. He was fully convinced that the Hindū temples were the store houses of gold, silver and other precious things. Therefore, he fixed his main target to loot the wealth from these temples to devastate the country and to create awe in the minds of the people with plunder and slaughter. The Sultān had also learnt that at Thānesar there were large elephants of fine breed, celebrated for military purposes.³ Under this passion Mahmūd resolved on the conquest of Thānesar⁴ and marched with such rapidity through the Panjāb as to forestall the preparations in October, 1014⁵ of Bijaya Pāl, the Tomar Rājā of Delhi to plunder Thānesar, which was a great seat of worship of the Hindus for centuries. "He marched through a desert which no one had yet crossed, except birds and wild beasts, and foot of man and the shoe of horse had not traversed it."⁶ Mahmūd captured the town, plundered the inhabitants, destroyed its great temple of Chakraswamin⁷ and broke its idols to pieces. The images of Chakraswami of Jagsoom were sent to Ghazni where they were cast in the public square to publicize his religious adventures against the infidels. Jagsoom were the principal idols believed to have existed since creation which were broken up into innumerable fragments and these fragments were further sent to Mecca and Baghdād. Two hundred thousand prisoners were said to have been carried off on that

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā* Vol. I, Text, p. 28.

² *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi Vol. II, E & D, p. 39.
Zain-ul-Akhbār Gardizi, p. 72.

³ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Utbi Vol. II, E & D, p. 40.

⁴ Thānesar is situated on the Delhi—Kalka Railway on the banks of the Saraswati. It is the most sacred place in the holy land of Kurukshetra, its name meaning the Place of the God.

⁵ 402 A. H. *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 27.

Kamil Fi't Tārikh—Vol. IX, Ibn Athir—Edited Tornberg, p. 172.
Zain-ul-Akhbār—Gardizi, p. 70.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Yamini*—Vol. II, Utbi E and D, p. 40.

⁷ "The Lord of the Wheel. It was believed to have been made in time, of Rājā Bhārat as a memorial of the wars connected with his name."
(*Albiruni*—Vol. I, p. 117)

occasion.¹ Though the Sultān won the day his loss on the field of battle was much heavier than that of the Hindus.²

End of the Hindu Shāhiya Dynasty—1021 : The Shāhi Rājās of the Panjāb bravely resisted the Ghaznavids, for more than twenty-five years. The opposition of Trilochanpāl, the Rājā of Lāhore, to the forces of Mahmūd in the expedition against Kalinjar furnished a good ground for invading his kingdom. In 1021, Mahmūd marched against Bhimpāl, the Rājā of Lāhore, who had succeeded his father, Trilochanpāl, in the meantime. Bhimpāl took shelter with the ruler of Ajmer and died there in 1026 A. D.³

The collapse of Hindū Shāhiyā power made a deep impression upon the minds of the people of that age. Al-Biruni has deeply felt at fall of this dynasty and remarked with a note of pathos ; "The Hindū Shāhiyā dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."⁴

Mahmūd appointed his general Malik Ayāz as the governor of the Panjāb and he himself left for Ghazni. The flight of Rājā Bhimpāl marked the formal annexation of the Panjāb by Mahmūd, who may hence forth be regarded as the first Sultān of the Panjāb. Malik Ayāz⁵ built the walls and citadel of Lāhore and also enlarged, and beautified the town. Since then Lāhore became an important and also a strategic place. Mahmūd named Lāhore as Mahmūdpur after his name and struck coins at Lāhore.⁶

The notion that Mahmūd contributed greatly to the spread of Islām in Panjāb seems to be fantastic and utterly false. The abundance of wealth in India, of which the Hindū temples were the repositories, was the real object for Mahmūd, who was eager to enrich his resources. He being endowed with far-sightedness and great political acumen, Mahmūd roused the religious feelings of the Muslims and edged them to extirpate the obnoxious infidels, who inhabited the Province. The indiscriminate massacre of innocent women and children and dragging them into slavery, on the pretext of the spread of Islam cannot be justified by the injudicious stretch of religious and logical maxims. Prof. Muhammad Habib rightly observes that "Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader ; no principle known to the Shariat justified the uncalled for attack on Hindū princes who had

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 27.

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni—Mohd. Habib, p. 32.

² *Tārīkh-i-Yamīni*—Uṭbī, p. 205

Zain-ul-Akhbār Gardizi, p. 71.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 31.

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni—Mohd. Habib, p. 45.

⁴ *Al-Biruni's India*—Vol. II, Dr. Sachau, p. 13.

⁵ A fair is held there on every Friday. The tomb of Malik Ayāz is still revered by the people which stands by the Taxāligate or old Mint as the burial place of the Muslim governor.

⁶ *Pathān Kings of Delhi*—Edward Thomas, p. 48.

done Mahmūd and his subjects no harm ; the wanton destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed."¹ Mahmūd greatly contributed to the susceptiveness of religious intoleration and the annihilation of men of other religions sowed the seeds of fanaticism, ignited the embers of religious militarism and thus became an apostle of fanatic Muslim kings. "Though zealous for Islam he maintained a large body of Hindū troops, and there is no reason to believe that conversion was a condition of their service. The avarice most conspicuously displayed in his review of his riches before his death and in his way to lavishness where his religion or his reputation was concerned."² The inclusion of the Panjāb and Afghānistān in the kingdom of Ghazni made the Islamic conquest of India a comparatively easy process.

After his last invasion of the Panjāb, Mahmūd placed all the administrative affairs in the hands of Abul Hasan Ali, known as Qāzi Shirāzi. He had appointed Ali Ariyāruk, a Turkish general of remarkable dash and courage as the commander-in-chief. The Qāzi and the general were independent. To keep them both in check, Bul Qāsim was appointed superintendent of the news carriers and his duty was to report everything important to the Sultān in Ghazni. This division of power was intended to keep the Panjāb in check by preventing the concentration of authority in a single man, while by the appointment of commander-in-chief, whose whole business was to wage war against the Hindū chiefs the Sultān sought to make the plunder of India a permanent affair.

Sultan Masud 1030-1039 : As soon as Mahmūd died, the nobles of the court placed Māsūd his son³, on the throne of Ghazni in 1031⁴. Ariyāruk who was appointed the governor of the Panjāb by Sultān Mahmūd, still held that post, but his tyrannical and oppressive actions led Māsūd to call him back and put to death. Māsūd then appointed Ahmed Nialtigin the governor of the Panjāb. He was an experienced hand who had acquired ample knowledge of public affairs during his service under Mahmūd. Abul Hassan, the Shirāzi Qāzi was made in-charge of the revenue administration. When Nialtigin assumed the charge of his office, he found it hard to pull on with his powerful and non-co-operating colleague, the Shirāzi Qāzi, who was a hot headed and arrogant administrator. A quarrel ensued between the two and jeopardized the royal position in the Panjāb. The dispute related to the appointment of the command of an expedition. It was referred to Māsūd in Ghazni, where the Qāzi was asked not to meddle with military

¹ *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni*—Mohd. Habib, p. 83.

² *The Cambridge History of India*—Vol III, p. 27.

³ Sultān Mahmūd's two eldest sons, Māsūd and Muhammad, were born on the same day, from the different mothers.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs. p. 41.

Tārikh-i-Masūdi—Baihaqi, Text, pp. 177-178

affairs of the province. Soon after Nialtigin undertook an expedition against Banāras and returned laden with immense spoils. The Qāzi felt jealous. He sent his spies against the general to Ghazni to inform the Sultān that Nialtigin had possessed himself of a vast amount of wealth and had begun to rule independently, giving him out as a son of Sultān Mahmūd. Fear or ambition actually incited Nialtigin to treason, and on returning to Lāhore he besieged the Qāzi in the fort, and this was a bid for independence.

In the month of July, 1033, letters were received by Māsūd from Lāhore that Nialtigin had created disorder in the Panjāb and that the country was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Sultān became exceedingly angry and ordered Tilak¹ to expedite immediate action against Ahmad Nialtigin².

Tilak drew up his plans of campaign and as soon as it was sanctioned by the Sultān, he hastened against the rebel. Ahmed Nialtigin was unable to hold Lāhore and fled towards the desert and Tilak followed close on his heels with an army consisting mostly of Hindūs. A reward of five lacs 'dirhams' was fixed for killing Nialtigin and it was proclaimed that any one who took his head to Tilak would receive that reward. This task was taken up in right earnest by the Jāts, who were thoroughly acquainted with the ins and outs of the desert and wilds where he had taken refuge. He promised pardon to all who would desert the fugitive. Nialtigin was defeated and his Turkomān soldiers came over to Tilak in a body.³ "He was ultimately slain by the Jāts while attempting to cross the Indus and his head was sent to Māsūd."⁴

Capture of Hansi—1037 : Elated by Tilak's success in the Panjāb, Māsūd marched by way of Kābul to the bank of the Jhelum in the winter of 1037. Another march of three weeks brought the Sultān to the fort of Hānsi, after a long and arduous journey. The fort of Hānsi was considered as impregnable, but the Muslims laid mines under it at five places, took it by storm and seized enormous spoils. After winning these victories, Māsūd marched back to Ghazni⁵, but when hard pressed by the Saljuk Turkomāns he withdrew to Lāhore from Ghazni to spend the rest of his life. He had brought all his collected wealth loading on camels from Ghazni to Lāhore. But after a few months, Māsūd was dethroned and put behind the bars by his cousin, Sulaimān⁶, and was soon after assassinated.

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 42.

² "A number of other officers offered their services against Nialtigin, but the choice fell on Tilak, a Panjābi Hindū, the son of a barbar who was entrusted with the command of an army and ordered to proceed against India" (*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 41).

³ *Tārikh-i-Subuktigin*—Baihaqi p. 497.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Subuktigin*—Baihaqi—Vol. II, E & D, pp. 125-'29.

⁵ *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni*—Mohd. Habib, pp. 98-99.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 43.

After the death of Māsūd, his successors Sultān Māudūd (1039-1049), Ali Abu Hasan (1049-1051), Abdul Rashid (1052-1053), FaraKhzād (1053-1059), Ibrahim (1059-1109), Māsūd III (1109-1115), Arslam (1116-1118), Bahrām (1118-1152) and Khusrau (1152-1160) came to the throne of Ghazni, one after the other. A civil war followed the death of every Sultān, which provided an opportunity to subordinate chiefs to struggle for their independence. Whenever these Sultāns failed to withstand the onslaughts of their central Asian enemies, they fled to the Panjāb. But after about one hundred and fifty years they had to lose everything in Ghazni, except the Panjāb where they settled down permanently and made Lāhore their capital. Khusrau Malik (1160-1186), was destined to be the last Ghaznavid ruler, whose kingdom was invaded by Shihāb-ud-din Ghorī.

The Turkish kingdom of the Panjāb suffered from decline and deterioration during the reigns of Mahmūd's successors. Corruption and inefficiency were the rule. In spite of this natural decay, some time an enterprising commander of the Ghaznavid army would undertake a distant raid into the territory of a neighbouring Hindū chiefs, devastate and bring valuable spoils but such a daring character was an exception and not the rule. The latter Sultāns of Lāhore were in a perpetual fear of the Rājput attack on their kingdom.

The permanent result of the various expeditions of Mahmūd into the Panjāb was the formation of the North-Panjāb into a transmutative province of the Ghazni kingdom with Lāhore for its governor's seat. With a Muslim dynasty planted at Lāhore and able to draw hardy reinforcements from its dominions in Afghānistān, the safety of the plains of India was lost.

CHAPTER II

THE GHORIDES

SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD GHORI 1186-1206

Shihāb-ud-din Muhammad Ghorī was an ambitious and enterprising ruler. After the occupation of Ghazni, he considered himself to be the rightful claimant to the provinces of Multān, Sindh and Panjāb which once belonged to the empire of Ghazni. A quarrel between his house and that of Ghazni had prompted him to invade the Panjāb, then under Khusrau Malik, the last ruler of the house of Mahmūd.

The Sultān had learnt from the accounts of Muslim travellers that the easiest route to enter the Panjāb from Ghazni, was the Multān-Uch road. The ordinary route from beyond Sulaimān Mountains in those days was not the well known Khaibar pass nor the Bolān pass in the south, but the Gomāl pass, which led to Derā Ismāil Khan and thence to Upper-Sindh-Sāgar Doāb. The Khaibar, Bolān and the less accessible Kurram and Tochi passes were not used by trading caravans to the same extent as the Gomāl pass, which was the normal military route. Throughout the twelfth century the first point of attack for an invading army from beyond the Sulaimān ranges was Multān-Uch and not Lāhore and Peshāwar. From Ghazni, the shortest route to the Panjāb was through the Kurram, Tochi and Gomāl passes and the Khaibar involved a long detour through the north. Politically, the Khaibar area was not safe, for the tribes inhabiting the northern Sindh-Sāgar Doāb were perpetually hostile.¹

The conquest of Uch and Multān was a dire necessity for Muhammad Ghorī, because these two places occupied a strategic position which could be used as halting places for the rest of the invading armies and for collection of supplies. With these objects in view, Shihāb-ud-din marched against Multān and capturing it in 1176², he moved against Uch which also passed into his hands. The Sultān failed to capture Lāhore from this side, but he reduced to submission the whole of southern Sindh including Dibal in 1182.³

Muhammad Ghorī now realised that it was a mistake to attempt to conquer the Panjāb through Uch and Multān. He was

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhaj-us-Siraj-Text, pp. 132, 135, 194.
Notes on Afghānistān—Raverty, pp. 38-39, 498-499, 505.

² *Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 56.

³ *The Struggle for the Empire*, p. 117.
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 6
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 451-452.

acting against the dictates of geography. The key to India lay through the Panjāb towards Delhi. He led an army through Peshāwar, which he wrested from the feeble grasp of the governor, placed there by Khusrau Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler of the Panjāb, in 1179¹. Two years later the Sultān marched on Lāhore. Neither Khusrau Malik could resist the invader in the open field, nor did he dare come outside the fortress. When the Sultān entered Lāhore, Khusrau shut himself up in the fort and at last made a presentation of a well equipped elephant as a tribute.² In addition to this Khusrau Malik sent the invader costly presents and his son Malik Shāh as hostage.³ The power of the Ghaznavids was on the decline and their glory was departing.

Muhammad Ghori returned from Lāhore to Ghazni but again returned in 1182, when he secured considerable wealth from southern Sindh and utilized it to raise an army for another attack on Lāhore in 1184, which, however, proved unsuccessful. Muhammad Ghori once again marched on Lāhore, in 1185. He sacked and plundered the city of Siālkot and laid the foundation of the fort of Siālkot and appointed his own man, Hussain son of Kharmil⁴ as the commander of the fort.⁵ This easy success encouraged Muhammad Ghori in his Panjāb aggressions.

Khusrau Malik, had now, fully realised that Muhammad Ghori had determined to snatch the whole of the Panjāb from his decaying hold and so he exerted himself in self defence. Khusrau made an alliance with the Gakhars,⁶ who were not on good terms with Chakra Dev, the ruler of Jammu. With their help Malik Khusrau besieged the fort of Siālkot. An opportunity was thus

¹ 575 A H. *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 56.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 452.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāh—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 6.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāh*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 6-7.

Early Turkish Empire of Delhi—Mohd. Aziz Ahmed, p. 76.

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 170.

⁴ This name is found with variance given by the contemporary historians.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 453.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 56.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāh—Sirhindi, Bāsu, p. 7.

As a matter of fact the fort of Siālkot was one of the ancient forts founded by the Panjāb rulers, but it was lately dilapidated and Muhammad Ghori got it repaired (*Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*)—Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 453-455)

⁶ "These Gakhars were a race of barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them as soon as a female child was born to carry her to the door of the house and proclaim aloud holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might then take her. otherwise she was immediately, put to death." (*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 182-184).

offered to Muhammad Ghori by Chakra Dev, when his fort of Siālkot was besieged by Khusrau. The Gakhars were under the suzerainty of Chakra Dev, but had now rebelled against him and Khusrau had used them against the ruler of Jammu. With the help of Muhammad Ghori Khusrau was driven back and the rebellion of the Gakhars were crushed, but even then Muhammad Ghori could not capture Lāhore.

In 1186,¹ Muhammad Ghori again laid siege to Lāhore. This time he had made an alliance with the Rāja of Jammu, Vijya Deo; invaded the Panjāb and garrisoned Siālkot in response to an invitation. In spite of the assistance from Jammu, Muhammad Ghori again could not take Lāhore by force. He, therefore, resorted to diplomacy.² The Sultān outwardly showed an attitude of friendliness by despatching Malik Shāhi³ to see his father Khusrau, but gave orders to his officials to induce Malik Shāh to drink as much wine as possible in order that he might proceed slowly and stop at several places on the way. Khusrau being rejoiced at the news of his son's return, gave himself up to music and pleasure. Even before the arrival of Malik Shāh, Muhammad Ghori appeared on the banks of the river Rāvi with an army of twenty thousand horsemen.⁴

In flagrant violation of his plighted word, Muhammad Ghori seized Khusrau and his son Bahrām Shāh, and sent them to a prison in Gharijistān, where they were put to death, in 1192.⁵ Muhammad Ghori having settled the province of Lāhore, consigned the government to Ali Karmakh, the governor of Multān and retired to Ghazni. Multān, Sindh, and Lāhore passed to Muhammad Ghori and Ghaznavid rule disappeared. His occupation of the Panjāb opened the way for further conquest of India.⁶

Muhammad's territory now touched the boundary of the kingdom of Prithvi Rāj (Rāi Pathōrā), the valiant Chauhān ruler of Delhi and Ajmer, and thus Prithvi Rāj was responsible for the defence of the north-west frontier of India. Hānsi⁷ and Bhatindā had already been taken from the possession of the successors of Mahmūd by Prithvi Rāj and he had fortified important towns on this frontier, up to Bhatindā. He had made considerable additions

¹ 582 A. H. *Tārikh-i-Farishṭā*—Vol. I Briggs, p. 171.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 7.

² *The Struggle for the Empire*—B. V. Bhavan, p. 118

³ Malik Shah was with Muhammad Ghori, as hostage from Khusrau Malik

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 455.

Tārikh-i-Farishṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Sirhindi-Eāsu, p. 7.

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty pp 456-457.

Tārikh-i-Farishṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Farishṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 456.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi, Basu, p. 7.

⁷ Situated sixteen miles south of Hissār. Rai Pithor is locally said to be the founder of the fort of Hānsi.

to the fort of Hānsi, converting it into an important military stronghold.¹

Battle of Tarain—1191 : Muhammad Ghori started preparations for a war against the Chauhāns. With Lāhore as the base, he first consolidated his position in the Panjāb. After about three years of preparation, he sent his army against Bhatindā. The siege began in 1190-1191. Prithvi Rāj's control seems to have been loose because the fort was surrendered before reinforcements of the Sultān could reach there.²

Leaving Ziā-ud-din Tolaq in charge of the Bhatindā fort at the head of twelve thousand troops, Muhammad retired to Ghazni. He had intended to march against Delhi next year at the head of a large army. But before he had left the Panjāb, he learnt that Prithvi Rāj had arrived for the reconquest of Bhatindā.³

On hearing the advance of Prithvi Rāj, Muhammad Ghori turned to meet him. The forces met at Tarain⁴ (Narainā) a village⁵ on the Nai Nadi in the Nardak, twelve miles south of Thānesar and three miles from Tirāuri (Tarāwari). The Muslims were over powered by sheer weight of numbers, and both of their wings were driven from the field, but the centre still stood firm, and Muhammad Ghori leading a furious charge against Rājā Prithvi Rāj's centre, personally encountered the Rājā's brother Khāndey Rāi. He shattered his teeth with his lance, but Khāndey Rāi drove his javelin through Muhammad Ghori's breast and Muhammad Ghori, unable to withstand the might of the Rājputs, had to resort to flight.⁶ The Muslim army was now in full flight and the Sultān, fainting from pain and loss of blood, would have fallen had not a young Khalji Turk, with great presence of mind sprung upon his horse behind him and he reached the place where the fugitive army had halted. Here a litter was hastily prepared for him and the Sultān's army continued its retreat in good order. With successive marches the Sultān took his way to Ghazni via Multān and Uch. Failing in his pursuit of the fugitive. Prithvi Rāj

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari-Khawājā Nizām—ud-din, Text, p. 37*
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171

² *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 455*
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 171
Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 7.

³ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 457.*
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 8.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sir hindi-Bāsu, p. 8.*
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 459.
Tārikh-i-Farishū—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 172.

⁵ The scene is said to be on the Sarsuti but Cunningham thinks that the exact site was on the banks of the Raukshi river, four miles south of Tirāuri and ten miles to the north of Karnāl. Tirāuri is also called Azimābād (*History of Mediaeval India—Vol. I.I-Vaidyā, P. 333 and see note Elliot-Vol. II, p. 295.*)

⁶ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari Khawājā—Nizām-ud-din, Text, p. 38.*
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 57
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi, Bāsu, p. 8.

besieged the fort of Bhatindā.¹ "At length, supplies of fodder and of the new recruits failing, Zia-ud-din Tolaq, perforce sought for negotiations and evacuated the fort."² It took Prithvi Rāj thirteen months to recover it.

Muhammad Ghorī having made requisite preparations for avenging the defeat started from Ghazni in 1192 at the head of a selected force which consisted of five 'lakhs'³ and twenty thousand picked cavalry. On reaching Lāhore, he sent an envoy named Diwān-ud-din to Prithvi Rāj to submit. In fact, this was done to gain time for completing his preparations, to cajole Prithvi Rāj and to keep him off his guard. The Chauhān ruler rushed towards Bhatindā and appealed to some of his brother Rājput rulers to hurry up to his assistance.⁴ With the combined Rājput forces, numbering according to Farishtā, five 'lākhs' of horse and three thousand elephants, Prithvi Rāj met the Sultān on the same field of Tarain. Muhammad Ghorī divided his army into five divisions, four of which were sent to attack the Rājput army on all sides while the fifth of the fleet of his cavalry was kept in reserve.⁵

The Rājputs fought with great gallantry but Muhammad Ghorī's tactics were successfully employed from the morning till the afternoon when the Sultān judging that the Rājputs were exhausted, charged their centre with twelve thousand of the flower cavalry reserve. This proved too much for the Hindū troops who gave in. They were completely routed and Prithvi Rāj descended from his elephant and mounted a horse in order to flee more speedily but was overtaken near the town of Sarasūti and was put to death.⁶ Khāndey Rāi,⁷ his brother, who had wounded Muhammad Ghorī⁸ in 1191, was also slain and his body was identified by the disfigurement which Muhammad Ghorī's lance had inflicted in the previous years.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Farishta*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 172
Al-Kamil-fī-t-Tawārikh—Ibn-ul-Asir, p. 255.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 460.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak-Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 9.

³ Yahiya Sirhindi gives "Forty thousand cavalry" (*Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 10).

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 58.

Early Turkish Empire of Delhi—Mohd. Aziz Ahmed, pp. 78-79.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Farisatā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 58.

Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi-Text, pp. 82-86.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 468-469.

⁶ There are divergent views about the death of Prithvi Rāj, some say that he was taken prisoner to Ghazni and the others say that he was blinded etc. According to *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Prithvi Rāj was captured on the Sarusti and immediately put to death, and this is taken as authentic by the historians in majority. But the real manner of his death, however, still remains to mystery like that of Subhas Chandra Bose, the hero of the Indian National Army who fought against the Allies in the Second World War.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 58.

⁸ 588 A. H. *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 58.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 469.

Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi, Text. p. 116.

This victory gave Muhammad Ghori northern India almost to the gates of Delhi and it proved to be very decisive contest and secured the ultimate success of the Sultān against India. 'The Chauhān power was completely shattered. "The disunion among the Rājputs, the fighting arm of India, and the rigidity of caste by which nine tenths of the people were made incapable or unwilling to resist foreign domination were the two main causes which led to the permanent enslavement of the northern India."¹ The mass of the people remained indifferent; to them the change of masters was a matter immaterial and insignificant. "Fighting alongwith all the lower caste being regarded a disgrace, and association of people of one caste with the other being forbidden, individuals would cook and eat their meals separately according to their own special rites; and non except co-caste persons would join the funeral ceremony of the dead at home or killed in the field."²

Thus in 1192, Ajmer and the whole of the Shivālik hills territory as well as the principalities of Ghurhām,³ Hānsi, Sarusti, Samānā and other tracts were subjugated by the Sultān. Muhammad Ghori further advanced to Delhi, but the city and the fort was saved by a relation of Khāndey Rāi by means of his submission and a handsome tribute. The Sultān returned to Ghazni after entrusting the government of Ghurhām, the capital, to his slave Qutb-ud-din. Aibak.⁴

In 1205, Muhammad Ghori suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Shāh of Khwārizm Shāh, which gave a set back to his authority in all his conquests. The Governor of Ghazni, adopted an independent attitude. His old enemies, the Gakhars of the Salt Range, rose in revolt under the leadership of Rāi Sāl, a petty Rāja.⁵ The situation was worsened by the defection and disloyalty of one of the officers of Muhammad Ghori, named Aibak Bak, who killed Amir Dāud Hasan the governor of Multān and established himself as an independent ruler. The Gakhars and other turbulent tribes who raided the country, between Lāhore and Ghazni, broke into an open rebellion and began plundering the

¹ *Mediaeval Hindu India*—Vol III, C. V Vaidyā, pp. 360-372.

² *Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*—Mohd Aziz, Ahmed, p. 45.

³ Dr. C. C. Davies writes Kuhrām, vide "An historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula, p. 16 b. Other modern scholars dittoed him. In fact the name of this place is Ghurhām. There is no difference in K and G in Shikista while written in Arabic or Persian scripts. There is no 3rh in these two languages, hence the scholars did not try to scrutinize the mistake. It should be Ghurhām, a very ancient village situated about fifteen miles to the south of Patialā town.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I. Raverty, p. 469.
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi, Text, p. 116.

⁵ "The tribes of Gakhars under their leaders Bakan and Sarkā, rose in open revolt, and caused much seditions and turbulence between the rivers of Sodra and Jhelum" (*Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Vol. II, Hassan Nizāmi, pp. 472-473).

districts between the Chenāb and Jhelum.¹ They made an attempt to capture Lāhore. Local officers failed to suppress this rising. The roads became infested with rebels and the revenue from the Panjāb had altogether stopped to reach Ghazni.²

Muhammad Ghori at length perceived the necessity for taking the field in person, and on October 20, 1205,³ set out from Ghazni to chastise the rebels. He sent urgent instructions to Qutab-ud-din Aibak to join him at the Jhelum. Muhammad Ghori left Peshāwar on November 9, 1205. Qutab-ud-din Aibak also hurried from Delhi, via Ghurbāni and Sunām to meet the Sultān. The Gakhars withstood the Muslims from day break until the afternoon with such obstinacy that the tide of battle was only turned by the arrival of Aibak with his army. Even then a pitched battle was fought. The Muslims pursued the Gakhars with great slaughter and took so many alive that five Gakhar slaves were sold for a 'dinar' in an open camp market. The fortress of Jud⁴ was captured. The two leaders of the Gakhars, one of them, Sarkā, was slain and the other Behrām made his way to a forest in the Salt Range, but being pursued thither, sued for his life by surrendering himself.⁵

Muhammad Ghori accompanied by Qutab-ud-din Aibak came to Lāhore and after settling the disordered affairs of the province he sent Aibak to Delhi and started his return march to Ghazni. While encamped at a place called Damyak,⁶ as he was engaged in evening prayers, he was assassinated on 15th March, 1206, by some Gakhar rebels.⁷ According to Juwaini, Muhammad Ghori

¹ "The Gakhars, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilab (Indus), up to the foot of the mountains of Shivālik, exercised unheard of cruelties on the Muhammadans, and cut off the communications" (*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 183).

² *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 481.
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Vol. II, Hassan Nizāmi, E&D, p. 232.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 162.

³ 602 A. H. *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 484.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 182.
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 12

⁴ The Salt Range, the country between Bherā and the Indus.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 59.
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi, E&D Vol. II, p. 236
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 13.

⁶ Situation of Damayāk is variously given by the contemporary historians (a) west of Jhelum (b) on the Indus (c) a Village beyond Indus on the road to Ghazni (d) Farishtā gives Rohtak.

⁷ "He was asleep with two slaves fanning him. These stood petrified with terror when they beheld the Gakhars enter, who without hesitation, sheathed their daggers in the King's body which was afterwards found to have pierced by no fewer than twenty-two months" (*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 185-186).

Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi-E&D, Vol. II, p. 236.
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 13.

was killed by three Hindus who came through the water, and falling like fire upon the royal tent slew the Sultān, who was entirely unprepared for such a treacherous attack.⁴ This was probably the result of a joint conspiracy by the Shia Muslims and the Gakhars.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Kushā—i-Juwalnī*, E&D, Vol. II, p. 393.

CHAPTER III

THE MAMLUK DYNASTY 1206-1290

SULTĀN QUTAB-UD-DIN AIBAK 1206-1220

When the death of Muhammad Ghori became known, the nobles of Lāhore sent an invitation to Qutab-ud-din Aibak to assume sovereign power. Aibak at once proceeded from Delhi to Lāhore and crowned himself as king, though his formal accession had already taken place on 17th March, 1206¹.

There were many slaves and lieutenants of Muhammad Ghori who were ambitious and had held high posts. This threatened the Turkish empire in India with dissolution. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, the governor of Multān and Sindh, was widely believed to have been marked out for the viceroyalty of Ghazni. At the head of a large army Tāj-ud-din Yildiz marched from Ghazni to Lāhore, in 1206², and took possession of the city. He sent his army against Qabāchā, and drove him away. On hearing this, Aibak advanced from Delhi to recover the Panjāb. Yildiz was defeated and driven away to Kirmān, and since then Aibak fixed up his residence at Lāhore and made it the capital of his Indian empire³.

During his sovereignty Aibak did not make any fresh conquest. Nor could he find time enough to establish a sound administration, which was purely military and rested on the support of the army⁴. He left the administration of this province in the hands of the native officers with old revenue rules and regulations in tact. In the towns, Muslim officers who were always mostly soldiers, were placed in charge of administration. The provincial judiciary was under a qāzi, but the administration of justice was yet ill organized⁵. Qutab-ud-din died at Lāhore, in November, 1210⁶ A. D. of injuries received as a result of a fall from his own horse which fell upon him while playing 'Chaugān' and the high panel of the saddle pierced his breast.

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 526
Tārīkh-i-Fakhru-ud-din—Mubārak Shāh, p. 31
Sirhindī, gives "June 26, 1206 A. D".

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text p. 63
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text pp. 130-140

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 63
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 135
Fatūh-us-Salātin—Mahdi Hassan, p. 99

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 136
Tārīkh-Farishtā—Vol I, Text p. 63

⁵ *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*—Quraishi, p. 4

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 63

He died instantly and was buried at Lāhore on November 4, 1210¹.

On the sudden death of Aibak at Lāhore, the Amirs and the Maliks of Lāhore, set up his son Arām² Bakhsh as his successor with the title of Arām Shāh (1210-1211) for the sake of restraining tumult. But the 'Amirs' of Delhi refused to support Arām Shāh, and invited Altutmish, the governor of Badāun, to assume the crown. Backed by the Lāhore faction, Arām Shāh marched against Delhi but Altutmish found it easy to defeat and slay him³.

SULTĀN ALTUTMISH—1211-1236

Though Altutmish ascended the throne in 1211 A. D., yet his position was very precarious. The Panjāb was hostile to him. Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabāchā was the ruler of the provinces of Sindh and Multān⁴ and he had further extended his kingdom to include Bhatindā, Ghurhām and Sarusti. The chiefs of Rajasthān withheld tribute and repudiated allegiance. Ali Mardān, the governor of Lakhanuti in Bengāl also declared his independence⁵.

Altutmish's position was immediately imperilled when Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni asserted his claims to the sovereignty of entire Hindustān. He turned out the governor of Lāhore appointed by Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabāchā, and occupied it.⁶ Altutmish protested against this act of aggression. When the protest was disregarded by Yildiz, Altutmish marched towards Lāhore. Both the armies met at the historic battle field of Tarain⁷ on January 25, 1216 A. D. Yildiz was defeated and taken prisoner. After having being led through the streets of Delhi, he was sent to Badāun, where he was put to death in the same year. This victory of Altutmish over Yildiz was the removal of the last obstacle to Altutmish's power⁸.

- 1 *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 16
Tāj-ul-Maāsir-Hasan Nizāmi, E & D, Vol. II, pp. 532, 543-544
- 2 *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 141
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 16
Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Nizām-ud-din-Ahmed, p. 55
- 3 *Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*—Mohd. Aziz Ahmed, p. 153
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 141
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, Text, p. 214
- 4 *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 16-17
- 5 *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, pp. 143, 170
Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol I, Text, pp. 64-65
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, pf 215-216
- 6 *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Hasan Nizāmi, Text. Vol. II, E & D, p. 239
Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 65
- 7 *Tāj-ul-Maāsir* Hasan Nizāmi, Text, Vol. II, E & D, p. 239
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 608
- 8 *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 65
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, E & D, Vol. II, p. 239

A constant state of warfare was going on between Altutmish and Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā for the possession of the provinces of Lāhore, Bhatindā, Sarustī and Ghurhām¹. His anxiety was not to give an occasion to Alā-ud-din Muhammad, the Khawārizm Shāh, to claim Hindustān as dependency of Ghazni, since Yildiz was driven out of Ghazni. Altutmish was always under the fear that the occupation of the Panjāb was most necessary for the safety of the Sultanate of Delhi and therefore, he marched against Qabāchā in the month of September, 1216. As the Sultān's forces crossed the Beās, Qabāchā took flight and reached the fortress at the village of Chamba². Altutmish pursued, but Qabāchā further fled towards Uch³. In the year 1217, the rival forces encountered each other in the vicinity of Mansura⁴ and Qabāchā suffered a crushing defeat⁵. The captives who were taken in battle were pardoned. This success did not give Altutmish a complete possession of the Panjāb, as the Chenāb and the Jhelum valleys were still in the possession of the Gakhars. For the administration of this province Prince Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd an experienced general of the army, was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in 1217.⁶

The Panjāb had not yet heaved a sigh of relief, when all of a sudden, another danger fell upon its soil and her peace was again disturbed. It happened in 1221, when Changez Khān rolled up the whole Khawārizm empire from Ghazni. The Mughals under their leader, the terrible Changez Khān, drove Alā-ud-din Muhammad Khawārizm Shāh from his throne, who was obliged to find shelter in the Caspian coast. Shāh's crown prince, Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni⁷, pursued relentlessly across Khurāsān, could elude him only by crossing over into the Panjāb, and thus Altutmish's efforts to gain the Panjāb were once more undone. Mangbarni established himself in the Upper Sindh Sāgar Doāb and contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Gakhar chief. This was a very diplomatic

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 170
Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 17

² A Village situated on the bank of the river Beās. Mohd. Aziz Ahmed seems to be incorrect, who locates this village as Chambā of Himāchal Prādes, vide p. 165,

³ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I. Raverty, p. 609
Tabqāt-i-Akhari—Vol. I, pp. 58-59

⁴ Situated by the side of the river Chenāb on the frontier tract of Lahore. (One of the cities of Swistan says Minhāj-us-Siraj, E & D, Vol II, p. 303)

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Muhārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 17
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, E & D, Vol. II, p. 241

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 65
Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, E & D, Vol. II, p. 240

⁷ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 606-610

deal of Jalāl-ud din, because the Gakhars were hostile to Nāsir-ud-din, and consequently Nasir-ud-din Qabāchā was practically driven out of the Sindh Sāgar Doāb.¹

Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni's three years' sojourn in the western Panjāb also affected Altutmish's hold on the Rāvi and the Chenāb regions. Mangbarni captured² the fort of Pasrūr, District Siālkot, and tried to support himself by plundering the riverine tracts. He managed even to reach Lahore whence he sent an envoy to Altutmish to beg for an asylum in his dominions³.

Altutmish was shrewd enough to anticipate the deep rooted danger of providing him shelter. To reverse Qutab-ud-din and his own foreign policy at this stage and to seek the displeasure of far more terrible power by receiving the fugitive prince, would have been very unwise. Therefore, Altutmish politely declined with the pretext that the climate of Lāhore was likely to be prejudicial to Mangbarni's health. But at this refusal, Mangbarni prepared himself to avenge himself by further aggressions on the Panjāb. Altutmish got ready for military action. Jalāl-ud-din did not like to fight and he thought it prudent to turn his attention to Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, considering him weaker than Altutmish and being aware of the fact that Qabāchā's relations with the Gakhars were not cordial⁴.

After having allied himself with the Gakhars, Jalāl-ud-din Mangbarni defeated Qabāchā and compelled him to take refuge in the fort of Multān. After fighting some skirmishes with Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, Jalāl-ud-din reached Kirmān by way of Makrān, as he got the news that the tide was turning in his favour in Khurāsān, in 1224⁵.

The net result of Mangbarni's stay in the Panjāb was the extinction of Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā's power. Sindh-Sāgar Doāb and a part of Multān passed into the hands of Jalāl-ud-din. Even after his departure the western Panjāb continued to witness rapid political changes. They upset Altutmish's plan of consolidation

1 *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 66
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 172
Taj-ul-Maāsir—Hasan Nizāmi, p. 249
Tārikh-i-Jāhan Kusha-i-Juwaini, Vol. II, p. 145

2 *Tārikh-i-Jāhan Kusha-i-Juwaini*, Vol. II, p. 145
Cunningham's Reports—XIV. pp. 46-47

3 "He sent a messenger to Altutmish with the request that if out of friendship he could condescend to help he would win back his ancestral kingdom from the enemy." (*Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*—Mohd. Aziz Ahmed, p. 166)

4 *Tārikh-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, p. 59
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi—Bāsu, p. 18

5 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*—Text, Badāuni, p. 64
Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 59
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 163

on the west, but helped him to destroy his rival Qabāchā, for the latter had to bear the brunt of Mangbarni's invasion and of its aftermath, which weakened his power of resistance. A governor was appointed over Bhatindā, some time before 1227, who also encroached upon Qabāchā's territory and occupied Wanjrat or Vajnot in the province of Multān.¹

At the death of Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā, Multān and Uch were annexed to the Sultanate of Delhi and governors were appointed to these provinces. But it seems that Altutmish could not make any immediate headway in the Upper Sindh Sāgar Doāb. Besides the area dominated by the unsubdued tribes of the Salt Range, a part of the possessions Mangbarni's Panjāb, was now under his lieutenant, Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh, who was to hold it for his master as best as he could. Judging from Jalāl-ud-din's alliance with the Gakhars, Qarlugh's² influence was fairly extensive. However in the northern Panjāb, Altutmish appears to have succeeded in extending his rule up to Siālkot and Janer (Hajner) and, possibly, also Jallandhar³.

Altutmish constituted the newly conquered territories to the north west of Delhi into three provinces, viz; the provinces of Lāhore, Multān and Sindh. The governors of these provinces were instructed to include the whole of Panjāb. As a result of these instructions, the governors of Lāhore and Multān succeeded in occupying the forts of Nandana, the capital of the Gakhar tribe and Kunjāh which were put under the charge of Aitigin⁴. Establishment of these outposts and the preceding wars secured for Altutmish the central, the north-eastern and the western Panjāb.

The Sultān died on 29th April, 1236 after a reign of twenty-six years, and the throne passed to his eldest son, Feroz, on April 30, 1236 A.D.⁵. Feroze, entitled Rukn-ud-din, was weak and licentious and was given to the life of debauchery. All real power of the state passed into the hands of his mother, Turkān. The nobles of the court who could no longer put up with Queen Turkān, decided to offer the crown to Razia⁶, the daughter of Altutmish.

¹ *Tārikh-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 232
Indian Antiquary (Bombay)—1882, pp. 1-9
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 18-19

² A tribe

³ *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Hasan Nizāmi, E&D—Vol. II, p. 242
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 173
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, pp. 65-66
 "Ran Kunjāh, Dattan flāh" goes the proverb.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Maāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, pp. 179, 253, 176
Tārikh-i-Yamini—Abu Nāsar Utbi, 1847, p. 260

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Khawājā Nizām-ud-din, Text, p. 64
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Vol. I, Raverty, p. 30

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 21

⁶ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 183

At that time Malik Alā-ud-din, the governor of Lāhore, Malik Izz-ud-din Kabir Khān-i-Ayāz, the governor of Multān, and Malik Saif-ud-din Kochi, the governor of Hānsi, with the governors of some more sub-provinces conspired together and broke into rebellion. With a view to suppressing the rebels, Sultān Rukn-ud-din marched out of the capital with a large army; but his Vizir, Nizām-ud-Malik Muhammad Junaidi, being frightened by the combined strength of the rebels, deserted the Sultān, and allied himself with other conspirators. A coalition of the chiefs was formed at Lāhore in 1236¹ to depose the Sultān. Considering the importance of the revolt thus formed in the Panjāb, the Sultān led his forces towards Ghurhām. All these combined forces of the governors², now arrived at Mansūrpur.³ Feroze marched out of Ghurhām to oppose them, but his army officers deserted him on the way. Queen Turkān was imprisoned and done to death. The Turkish 'Amirs' and other contingents of the royal body guards all joined Raziā, and placed her on the throne.⁴

SULTĀNĀ RAZIĀ — 1236-1240

Raziā induced Izz-ud-din, the governor of Multān to visit her for the betrayal of some of their associates, and then circulated in the rebel camp an account of all that had passed at the conference. Consternation fell upon all and as such no man could trust his neighbour. Saif-ud-din Kochi, the governor of Hānsi, Alā-ud-din Sher Khāni, the governor of Lāhore and Wazir Nizām-ud-din Malik Junaidi had united their forces at Lāhore. They advanced to Delhi to dethrone Raziā. Meanwhile, she was busily engaged in sowing dissension among the rebel chiefs, and with such success that distrusting each other, they shortly after broke up their camp, each retreating to his own province but they were all hotly pursued by Raziā's cavalry. Alā-ud-din Sher Khāni was overtaken and slain at Nagwān near Pael.⁵ Saif-ud-din Kochi and his brothers were taken alive and put to death, after short imprisonment, Nizām-ud-din Mulk Muhammad Junaidi fled into Sirmur hills, where he died. Kabir Khān, the governor of Multān, who was the first man to

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāslri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Text, p. 184

Fatuh-ut Salātin—Mahdi. Hassan, p. 126

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 22

³ Mansūrpur is now called Chhintānwālā, a very old village on the Rājpurā Bhatindā railway line, twenty four miles to the west of Patialā.

⁴ *Ibn Battutā's Travels*—E&D, Vol. II, p. 592

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 22

Tabqāt-i-Nāslri—Vol. I, Raverty. pp. 632 633

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Nāslri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 187 (Pael is now a police station in Ludhiānā District. It was headquarters of Sarkār of the same name under the Mughals).

desert his associates, was rewarded with the governorship of Lāhore and Multān.¹

Raziā's triumph brought her great prestige which stabilised her position, but later this very success proved to be the chief cause of her down fall. The Turkish nobles, who had formed themselves into a military brotherhood and monopolized all powers in the state since the time of Qutab-ud-din Aibak, would not tolerate a very powerful and despotic monarch who was pursuing a policy of making her supreme. So they conspired against Raziā.² The leader of this conspiracy was Ikhtiār-ud-din Aitigin and the most prominent among other conspirators was Kabir Khān, the governor of Lāhore and Multān provinces. He was the first 'Amir' to revolt. But Kabir Khān's progress was checked by the Mughal invasion on account of which he halted at the Chenāb. Meanwhile Raziā's forces come up, and Kabir Khān had to surrender unconditionally.³

A second rebellion was reported when Ikhtiār-ud-Altuniā the governor of Bhatindā, had rebelled at the instigation of Aitigin and other nobles. When the army, under the command of Altuniā, reached Bhatindā, Yākut, the paramour of Raziā, was murdered and Raziā was put into the custody of Altuniā⁴, the governor of Bhatindā. Bahrām was proclaimed the Sultān of Delhi on April 22, 1239.⁵

Battle of Kaithal — 1240 : Altuniā, the governor of Bhatindā married Raziā. Soon after, he raised an army especially from the Gakhar-Jāts and marched on Delhi to recapture the throne. They were soon joined by Malik Izz-ud-din Muhammad Salari and Malik Qārāqash. In the meantime Bahrām Shāh was elevated to the throne, who led his army in the month of September, 1240 to check the progress of his opponents. A stubborn battle was fought in which Raziā was defeated and fled to Bhatindā. Raziā did not lose her courage. She recollected her scattered troops and made a second effort to achieve the throne, but she was again defeated on the plains of Kaithal⁶ on 24th October, 1239.

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, pp. 185-186
Notes on Afghānistān—H.G. Raverty (1888), pp. 640-641
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol I, Briggs, pp. 218-219

² *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 188
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Text, p. 68
Fatuh-us-Salāṭin—Mehdi. Hasan, pp. 128-129

³ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj us Sirāj, pp. 188-191

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 188-189

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 188-191

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol, I, Text. p. 69
Cambridge History of India—Vol. III, p. 60

Later Raziā and Altuniā were murdered by some Hindū robbers on 12th December, 1240.¹

While the peace of the province was disturbed by internal discords and dissensions, the Mughal army laid siege to the city of Lāhore under the command of Tāyir. Malik Akhtiyār-ud-din Qārāqash, the governor of Lāhore, offered resistance ; but as he was not supported by the people, he left Lāhore at mid-night and started for Delhi.² The Mughals pursued him, but he managed to escape safely to Delhi. However, Aqsanqar, the Kotwāl of Lāhore, and Muhammad, the Lord of the stable, continued fighting with the invaders. Unluckily the Kotwāl was killed in the battle, and the Mughal leader Tāyir was also killed. Lāhore was occupied by the Mughals, on December 22, 1241, who sacked the city and captured a large number of people.³ Sirhindi writes that "The infidel Mughals obtained possession of the city, martyred the Musalmāns, and made captive their dependents".⁴

The Sultān, then, nominated Malik Qutab-ud-din the son of Hussain Ali Ghuri, and the Vazir, Nizām-ul-Mulk, at the head of the royal force against the Mughals. But the Turkish nobles had lost all confidence in the Sultān, and when the army reached the river Beās, they instead of advancing on Lāhore, planned out intrigues against the Sultān. Meanwhile the Mughals had further advanced up to the bank of the river Beās, but later they retired from the Panjāb.⁵ Meanwhile a plot having been formed against Bahrām Shāh, he was deposed, imprisoned and put to death in 1241.⁶

Internal jealousy and disorder did not disappear and the country was torn by dissensions and revolutions.⁷ The governors of Multān and Uch had declared their independence. In 1245, Multān was occupied by Saif-ud-din Hasan Qarlugh. A conspiracy was formed, Māsud Shah was deposed and Nāsir-ud-din Muhammad was crowned as Sultān in June, 1246.⁸

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 188
Monuments of Delhi—Vol. III, p. 42
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 27

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 28

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 69
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 195

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 29

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, pp. 195-196
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 28-29
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, pp. 69-70

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 70
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 30

⁷ *Early Turkish Empire*—Vol. I, p. 70

⁸ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, p. 70
Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj us Sirāj, p. 208
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsu, p. 32

SULTĀN NĀSIR-UD-DIN MAHMŪD—1246-1266

Balban was the leader of the 'Forty',¹ who raised Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd to the throne, and thus the Sultān invested all the powers in the hands of Balban. Consequently all the key posts of the state went to Balban's relatives.

Balban's cousin, Sher Khān, was awarded the title of Muazam Khān. He was one of the most renowned men of his age. He possessed all princely qualities; and he was an experienced soldier and a talented counsellor at the court. He was entrusted with the governorship of the provinces of Multān, Ghurhām, Sunām, Shivālik hills and Sirhind, in addition to the governorship of Lāhore and Bhatindā provinces.²

Balban's ascendancy to power led to the rise of a party against him. Imād-ud-din Rayhān, a Hindu convert, was the ring leader of the dissidents. Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd issued orders of the dismissal of Balban from the rank of the Prime-Minister, and instead appointed Imād-ud-din Rayhān in his place. A fresh distribution of offices now took place. Sher Khān was replaced by Arslān Khān³ as the governor of the provinces which were in the charge of Sher Khān. While the Sultān had camped at the Beās near Sultānpur during the expedition against the Mughals, Sher Khān had retired to Turkistān.⁴

Imād-ud-din Rayhān's administration, though popular with the lower classes, could not last long. The Turkish nobles at the court and in the provinces would not tolerate an Indian Muslim who was de facto head of the government. They once again combined under the leadership of Balban. A contest between the two armies was imminent, but the Sultān did not see it appropriate to risk the battle and he agreed to dismiss Rayhān's ministry. Balban again appointed his cousin, Sher Khān, the governor of the provinces of Lāhore, Dipālpur, Multān, Bhatner, Sunām, Ghurhām, and Shivalik Hills in 1254.⁵ He remained the governor till 1267.

SULTĀN GHIYĀS-UD-DIN BALBAN—1266-1287

At his accession to the throne, Balban dislodged all the influential members from the key posts of the state. His cousin Sher Khān, whom he had appointed the governor was got poisoned,⁶ because he had grown a powerful governor of the frontier

¹ It was the Turkish aristocracy at the head of which stood a selected body of forty nobles known as the 'chahāl'. It had come into existence in the time of Aluttmish. All the members of this body were originally Aluttmish's slaves

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text. p. 71

³ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhaj-us-Sirāj, pp. 271-272, 218, 266

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 72

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 72

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Zia-ud-din Barani, pp. 26-28

province of the Delhi Sultanate, and could challenge the authority of Balban at any time.

Sher Khān was an energetic governor who had governed the Panjāb even beyond Satluj, and had most boldly and ably repulsed the incursions of the Mughals. He was buried at Bhatner (Hanūmāngarh) in an extensive mausoleum which he had himself constructed for the purpose. In his place, Balban appointed his eldest son prince Muhammad Sultān surnamed Tāj-ul-Malik. He was a youth of great talents with a fine taste for literature, and was a polished and a profound scholar of Persian and Arabic languages. The provinces of Multān, Dipālpur, Ghurhām, Sunām, and Samānā were also placed under his charge,¹ in addition to the governorship of Lāhore. On establishing himself at Lāhore, he brought with him all learned men who were living in his association in Delhi. Amīr Khusrau, the poet laureate, and Khawājā Hasan were also among the train that accompanied the prince. The Sultān provided him with all the requisites of war and a body of experienced counsellors.²

The Mughals plundered the upper Panjāb and Delhi. Balban took firm measures to guard the north-west frontier. He established big cantonments at Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Samānā, Sunām, Ghurhām, Jallandhar and Sirhind, while still bigger and stronger military cantonments were kept under the experienced military generals like Bughrā Khān (Nāsir-ud-din) at Samānā and Malik Baktar in Delhi to reinforce them. These generals used to march to reinforce Nāsir-ud-din at Sultānpur on the Beās. In this manner they obtained several victories, with the result that the Mughals had never dared approach the Beās any more.³

The defence measures were further increased when the province of the Panjāb was converted into military zones, each zone being placed under the charge of a military commander of proved ability. The military command of Samānā was detailed to guard the Beās line, and this command was to work under the over-all command of the governor of Multān and Lāhore, whose seat of governorship was then at Multān. This co-ordination proved most effective, and the Mughals were held back.⁴

While Balban was at Lāhore, he was told that the military grantees of land were unfit for military service, which they had never rendered during the last thirty to forty years. Many of such grantees were extremely old and infirm, while some of them had died and their sons had taken the possession of the grants as an inheritance from their forefathers. Some who had no children had sent their slaves as their representatives. With the exception

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Text, pp. 73-74

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Barani Sirhindi Bāsu, p. 40
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Text, p. 75

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā ud din Barani, p. 80

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I. Text. p. 80.
The Cambridge History of India—Vol. III, p. 79.

of a few, all of them stayed at home, the acceptance of which they had secured by presents and bribes to the deputy master—master and his officials.

Balban took immediate measure to confiscate many such 'jagirs' whereas the remaining grantees were divided into three classes. The first consisted of the old and worn out, upon whom he settled pensions of forty or fifty tankas and resumed their villages. The second class was of those who were young, they were given an allowance proportionate to their services, and their villages were not to be taken from them, but the surplus revenues were to be collected by the government revenue officers. Class three consisted of widows and orphans, who held villages and sent deputies to perform their military service. The grants were withdrawn from the orphans and the widows, but a suitable allowance was made for their food and raiment.¹

THE BATTLE OF THE RĀVI—1285

The repeated incursions of the Mughals had much affected the economic prosperity of the Panjāb. Tamar Khān, the Mughal wanted to expand his sway towards the interior Panjāb. Tamar Khān invaded the province of Lāhore at the head of twenty thousand strong horse in 1285.² He entered the Sindh-Sagar Doāb. The whole country around Dipālpur and Lāhore was plundered, and the villages were depopulated. The Afghāns were mercilessly butchered. Prince Muhammad, the governor of the provinces of Lāhore, Bhatindā and Multān, was then at Multān who having heard about these depredations hastened to Lāhore and prepared for a vigorous fight.

Tamar Khān had advanced up to the Rāvi, when Prince Muhammad was preparing to give battle. The two armies, being drawn up in order of battle on the bank of river Rāvi, engaged each other in an action in which both commanders greatly distinguished themselves. At length the Mughals surrendered, and were hotly pursued by Prince Muhammad. Unfortunately, separated from the main body of his troops during this pursuit, when Muhammad was halting on the bank of a stream three 'Farsangs, from Multān,³ a Mughal chief, who had concealed himself in an ambush in a neighbouring wood at the head of two thousand strong horse, suddenly fell upon Muhammad's troops. A desperate battle ensued. Muhammad was mortally wounded and

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Barani, E & D, pp 107-108

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, pp. 42-43.

Foundation of Muslim Rule in India—Habibullā, pp. 222-223.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Barani, E&D, p. 109.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 82, says that the battle under reference was fought between Lāhore and Dipālpur, (see also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*—Vol. I, Badāuni-Text, p. 138.)

later died. This battle forms the theme of one of Amir Khusrau's famous elegies.¹ A large number of Muslims were slain and in Amir Khusrau's language, "in Multān, in every house there was some dead to be wept for."² Amir Khusrau was himself taken captive, but he managed to escape.³ Thus the victory of the Mughals under Tamar Khān did not result in the occupation of any territory. At the death of Prince Muhammad, his son Kai Khusrau was appointed the governor of the Panjāb, in which the provinces of Lāhore and Multān were combined under him. Balban died in 1286.

The nobles led by Fakhr-ud-din, the Kōtwāl of Delhi, set aside the Balban's nominee, Kai Khusrau, the governor of the Panjāb, and placed Kaiqubād, Bughrā Khān's son on the throne. Kaiqubād was only seventeen years old at the time of his succession, who had been brought up under the guardianship of his puritanical grand father.

At the end of Balban's reign, the boundary of the province of Delhi and the Pānjab remained roughly along the water parting between the Rāvi and Beās. As already mentioned, most of the provinces of Lāhore and Multān were under the Mughal influence. However, in spite of Kaiqubād's incompetence and the consequent laxity of vigilance, the defence system remained intact and refused to yield to further advantage of the Mughals.⁴

Tamar Khān again over ran the territory of the Panjāb from Multān to Lāhore and laid waste "the whole country as far as Samānā."⁵ Malik Bektar was at once dispatched by the Sultān at the head of thirty thousand troops, who routed them on the Rāvi and took a great number of them as prisoners.⁶ The Mughals were hotly pursued up to the Jhelum and driven out of the Panjāb.⁷

Kaiqubād had neglected the affairs of the state, and Malik Jalāl-ud-din Feroze of the Khilji tribe had usurped all the powers of the state. He caused Kaiqubād to be murdered in a country place in 1288 and set himself up as regent of the new infant king. He ascended the throne in 1290.⁸

CONCLUSION

The history of the Panjāb for a century (1186-1290) right from the advent of the Ghorides up to the death of the last Sultān

¹ *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh*—Vol. I, Badāuni—Text, p. 138.

The Life and works of Amir Khusrau—Mirzā (1935), pp. 56-59

² *The Life and works of Amir Khusrau*—Mirzā, p. 63.

³ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi—Bāsu, pp. 45-47.

⁴ *The Qirān-us-Sādāin*—Amir Khusrau, p. 48.

Ibid, p. 49.

The Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi—Bāsu, p. 54.

⁵ *The Qirān-us-Sādāin*—Amir Khusrau—O.P. Cit. p. 5

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi—Bāsū. p. 51.

⁸ *The Struggle for the Empire*—B.V. Bhavan, p. 15 .

of the Mamluk dynasty was all chaos. Lāhore, the heart of the Panjāb, remained an arena of strifes throughout the period, particularly at the time of accession of every new Sultān who managed to capture the throne with the connivance of the governors of Lāhore, Multān and of other small provinces of the Panjāb. Lāhore and Multān were perpetually the main targets of devastation of the Mughal invaders during this period.

Qutab-ud-din Aibak came to the throne with the support of the Governors and the 'Amirs' of this province. Altutmish had to face great difficulties at the time of his accession as he was supported by the 'Amirs' of Delhi and the consent of the governors of Lāhore and Multān, and of other important 'Amirs' of this province was not sought. It was on this account that Altutmish could not establish his supremacy over the people of the Panjāb for many years, as his contests with Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni, Nasir-ud-din Qabāchā, Mangbarni and the Gakhars of the Salt Range had made the Panjāb a cockpit for the seizure of political supremacy. During the reign of his twenty-six years Panjāb remained practically under the various governors who had their nominal fealty to the centre. And after Altutmish's death for the next ten years to come Panjāb had again remained an arena of revolts, and governors were practically independent from the supremacy of the central Government.

It was only with the accession of Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd that his Prime-Minister Balban had controlled the destiny of this province for the next forty years. Balban got appointed very strong and scrupulous governors to this province e.g. Sher Khān (1254-1267) and Prince Muhammad (1267-1285). Balban's blood and iron policy had saved the province from the Mughal menace. He dealt with the Gakhars who had nursed a deep hostility towards the Turks and were so friendly to the Mughals that they went to the extent of inviting the Mughals for the Indian invasion and invariably gave them free passage through their country. He further curbed mutual factions among his 'Amirs' in order to establish a settled government. The regular appointments of governors to the provinces of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Sunām, Samānā, Ghurhām, Sirhind and Jalandhar were made. Their disrupted tendencies were thoroughly watched by the vigilance department and were checked by the Sultāns themselves. Condign punishment was inflicted on the defaulters.

The common man had remained unconcerned to all these political changes. Since the establishment of the Muslim rule in the Panjāb, non-Muslims had no hand in the government and were absolutely ignored from the official patronage. Unlike the great Mughāls to come, the rulers of the Mamluk dynasty did not patronise the indigenous talent and energy of non-Muslims except for minor posts in the revenue department and for menial duties. The Turks had no faith in the integrity of the Hindūs and did

not offer them high ranks in the civil and in the military departments. Their plight was miserable. They were forced to pay huge taxes out of their meagre income.

Trade, industry, farming and other economic measures had all gone with the wind. The roads were unsafe and were, often, infested by the bandits. The trade caravans could only move with the help of the imperial contingents. Though sometimes very strict measures were taken by the central Government to check all the disruptive tendencies, yet the sudden changes of the governors and other chiefs caused it all in vain.

CHAPTER—IV

THE KHILJIS—1290-1320

JALĀL-UD-DĪN FEROZ KHILJI—1290-1296

The main event of the Feroze's reign, which has a bearing on the history of the Panjāb was the invasion of the Mughals who invaded the province in 1291-1292.¹ Abdullā, a grandson of Halākū Khān, came at the head of one hundred fifty thousand horsemen and penetrated as far as Sunām.² The whole of the Panjāb, from Bherā to Sunām, was devastated, when Feroze collected a large army and personally met them in the suburbs of Sunām. The advance guard of the invaders suffered a heavy defeat and the invaders readily submitted.³ But in fact the Sultān had lost all vigour and virility on account of his old age, though he had defeated the Mughals on many former occasions. He had not dared face the huge Mughal force in a major encounter and had hurried to make a settlement.

After the extinction of the Mughal menace the Sultān appointed his second son, Husām-ud-din (1291-1296), the governor of the provinces of Lāhore, Multān and Sindh. To check the Mughals ostensibly, the Sultān strengthened the frontier military cantonments of Samānā, Sunām, Sultānpur and Dipālpur by putting in them more strong and experienced contingents, under the command of Arquli Khān, for better integration of plans of frontier defence. Arquli Khān administered the government of the Panjāb very efficiently. He checked the menace of the Mughal invaders till 1296, but after the death of Jalāl-ud-dīn, in 1296, anarchy had again prevailed in the Panjāb.⁴

ALĀ-UD-DĪN KHILJI—1296-1316

At the time of Alā-ud-din's accession to the throne the Panjāb was in a state of anarchy. In the north-west the Mughals were sending out harassing expeditions every year. It was a very important task to defend the frontiers against the Mughal invaders.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Zia-ud-din Barani—Text, p. 218.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 302.

² 43 miles south-west of Patialā town.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 60.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Zia-ud-din Barani—Text, p. 219.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 302-303.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Zia-ud-din Barani, p. 223.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 303.

who had set their heart on the conquest of the province, and on one or two occasions they had penetrated as far as Delhi. Another restive element was the Gakhars, who had always an hostile attitude against the foreigners. Multān and Sindh were held by Arquli Khān, the able general, who had ruled virtually as an independent king. The political ties of other chiefs had entirely disintegrated and lawlessness prevailed in every corner of this province. The economic condition worsened since the province had not any settled government for the last one decade.

The first step taken by Alā-ud-din, at this time, was to capture the rebel claimants of the throne who had all assembled in Multān. Alā-ud-din immediately sent Ulugh Khān, the Mughal and the son-in-law of the late king, Hajabr-ud-din and Zaffar Khān at the head of a force of four thousand strong horse-men to Multān in November 1296¹ to secure the persons of Arquli Khān, Rukn-ud-din and their mother, the Queen-dowager. Arriving at Multān, the generals invested the town at once. Arquli Khān had well anticipated the calamity and had made adequate preparations to encounter it, but the Kotwāl of the town, in conjunction with other local chiefs, unable to bear the hardship of a protracted siege, deserted to the Sultān's side only after about a couple of month's investment. Arquli Khān lost all hope of success and importuned Sheikh Rukn-ud-din² of Multān to intervene on his behalf. The Sheikh arranged terms of a truce between the contending parties. He took the princes to the camp of Ulugh Khān, where they were received with dignity.

Multān thus easily fell. The news of the victory was despatched to Delhi, where great rejoicings were held. Arquli Khān, Rukn-ud-din the faithful Malik Ahmed Chap and the Queen Malika Jahāni were captured. The victorious general left for the capital accompanied by the two captive princes, their families and nobles. At Abohar³, they were met by Nusrat Khān, who carried express orders of the Sultān about punishments to the prisoners. With the instructions of Alā-ud-din both the Princes and Ahmed Chap were blinded⁴ on the way to Delhi at Hānsi, and the Queen was kept under very strict guard. The Princes were

¹ *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh* Vol. I, Ranking, p. 247, Muharra, 696 A.H. (Oct-Nov. 1296 A D) writes Sirhindi (*Tarikh-i-Mubārak shāhi* p. 69)

² Rukn-ud-din Abul Fateh was the grandson of Sheikh Zakariyā, who occupied the position in the history of the Subrawardi 'Silsilāh' which Sheikh Nizām-ud-din Auliya occupied in the history of the Chishti order (*Siyār-ul-Auliya*—Mir Khurd, pp. 135-141).
Tārikh-i-Mubārak shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 69.

³ Abohar a Tehsil headquarter in Ferozepur District, twenty-one miles from Fāzilka, was an important military centre during the early Muslim period. A large number of inscriptions of Alā-ud-din have been found from there, showing the importance of the town at that time (*Epigraphica Indo-Moslemca* (1917-18), p. 8).

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 325.

imprisoned in the fort of Hānsi.¹ Two sons of Arquli Khān were also murdered. The others who had sided Arquli Khān² were sent to the fort of Ghurhām, and their eyes were put out. Alp Khān was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in place of Arquli Khān.³

Alā-ud-dīn successfully kept the Mughal invasions in check and they were defeated and repelled from the land of the Five Rivers for more than a dozen times. The first Mughal invasion occurred in 1297.⁴ Information reached Alā-ud-dīn that Zamir Duā Khān, the king of Māvāra-un-Nahr, had invaded the Panjāb, carrying everything before him with fire and sword, with the firm intention to conquer the provinces of Lāhore, Multān and Sindh. Alā-ud-dīn sent Zaffar Khān, an experienced General, to reinforce the forces of the governor of Lāhore. The Mughals accompanied by an army passed through the Salt Range and crossed the Jhelum, the Chenāb, the Rāvi, the Beās and the advancing wave burnt down all the villages of Gakhars, so much so that the flames illuminated the suburbs of the city of Lāhore and the buildings of Qasur⁵ were demolished.⁶ Both the armies encountered at Jallandhar.⁷ The Mughals had to face a very crushing defeat, with a loss of twelve thousand men and many of the distinguished officers of Amir Duā's army in February, 1298. A large number of them were taken prisoners, and subsequently put to death. No decency was even shown to women and children.⁸ "This victory raised the fame of the King's arms, established his power at home, and overawed his foreign enemies".⁹ He now meted out drastic punishments to those nobles of this province whose loyalty he had recently purchased by riches, as he considered them too fickle. Some were put to death; some were blinded; others were imprisoned for life; and the property of all was

¹ Eighty-three miles from Delhi.

² *The Sultānate of Delhi*—B. V. Bhavan, p. 18.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 69.

³ Farishtā calls him Alf Khān and Sirhindi Alab Khān. Alp Khān or Ulugh Khān was the title of Alā-ud-dīn's younger brother Ilmās Beg (*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*—Amir Khusrau, p. 6n4)

⁴ 697 A. H. (1297 A. D.) *The Khazāin-ul-Futūh*—Amir Khusrau, p. 23.

⁵ Sixteen miles to the south of Rāiwind, on the north bank of the old bed of the Beās.

⁶ *The Khazāin-ul-Futūh*—Amir Khusrau-Habib, p. 23

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, p. 250.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 102.

Khazāin-ul-Futūh—Amir Khusrau-Habib, p. 24

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 327.

Ibid. p. 227.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 327.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 70.

confiscated. The Mughals again invaded the Panjāb in 1298 under their leader Kutlugh Khān and in 1303 under Targhi Khān, but on both these occasions they marched upon Delhi through Multān and the Panjāb was not affected.

Ghāzi Khān Tughluq was appointed the governor of Lāhore and Multān in 1305. He was a man of humble origin. His father was a Turkish slave of Balban and his mother, a Jat Woman of the Panjāb.¹ Ghāzi Khān began his life as an ordinary trooper, but he rose to a position of importance by dint of his hard work and ability. He had his headquarters at Dipālpur.² He was a man of iron will, and was thus entrusted with the duty of the protection of these frontier provinces. He encountered the Mughal invaders on twenty-nine occasions, and defeated them with heavy killings all the times. He was given the title of Malik-ul-Ghāzi. The Panjāb was again invaded by the Mughals under their leader Kubak Khān, in 1305. This invasion was in no way less formidable in nature than those of 1299 and 1303. The Mughals, about fifty thousand in number, crossed the hilly regions lying north-west of the Indus, crossed the river Rāvi and by forced marches advanced towards the east on the Rāvi, burning and pillaging the country.³

Alā-ud-dīn appointed Malik Naik Kafur⁴ to oppose the Mughals. Experienced generals like Malik Tūghluq and Malik Ālam were also sent with Malik Naik Kafur. Neither party was willing to open the attack, shortly after the rival forces stood face to face on the banks of the river Rāvi. The Mughals took the initiative, and Malik Naik Kafur rallied his men and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughals. Kubak Khān was taken prisoner and was sent to Delhi with other prisoners of war including women and children.⁵

The Mughals invaded the Panjāb again in 1306 under Kubak Khān and crossed the Indus near Multān. They advanced towards the Sivālik hills and plundered the country. Ghāzi Khān made full arrangements and barred their return journey. Ghāzi Khān fell upon them on the Indus in the hot weather. "The Mughals faint and weary and well nigh perishing for want of water, they were forced to fight the enemy. Only three or four thousand

¹ *Ibid.* p. 70.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 230-231.

² Dipālpur is in Montgomery District, 14 miles from Okara on the old high bank of the Rāvi.

³ *Khazāin-ul-Futuh*—Khusrau-Habib, p. 26.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, p. 319.

⁴ Farīshṭā-calls him Malik Naib, vide Text, p. 114, but Ziā-ud-dīn Barani and Khusrau call him Naik.

⁵ *The Khazāin-ul-Futuh*—Amir Khusrau-Habib, pp. 27-28.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 363.

managed to escape out of fifty or sixty thousand. Kubak Khān and many other were taken alive and carried by Ghāzi Khān Tughluq to Delhi, where they were mercilessly killed."¹

Alā-ud-dīn had to take effective measures to protect the frontier provinces of his empire, so as to prevent a future raid of the Mughals. He had fully realised the imminent danger, since the huge Mughal armies had twice reached Delhi without any opposition. Though Mughal invaders were all the time beaten, slaughtered mercilessly and driven out of the country, yet there was every possibility of their conquest, since their raids were increasing day by day. Ghāzi Khān Malik Tughluq was appointed the governor of the Panjāb and Multān, with a strong force under him. Every year he led expeditions to Kābul, Ghazni, Qandhār and Garmsir, plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute on their inhabitants. The Mughals had not the courage to come, but they defended their own frontiers against Ghāzi Khān.²

Alā-ud-dīn got repaired the old forts of Ghurhām, Sunām, Samānā, Dipālpur, Lāhore, Multān and Sindh, built by Balban, and established more military out-posts to prevent raids on his capital. All these forts were garrisoned with powerful troops, under the command of his experienced and faithful commanders. He also posted an additional army charged with the duty of guarding the north-west frontier.

The last days of the Sultān were embittered by troubles and misfortunes, and the Sultān died on January 6, 1316.³ The death of the Sultān was followed by the usual murderous scramble for power. The government was temporarily seized by Malik Kafur but his murderous career was also cut short by the slave guards of the palace.

QUTAB-UD-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH—1316-1320

Mubārak Shāh ascended the throne in April, 1316 and assumed the title of Qutab-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Ghāzi Khān Tughluq remained the governor of Lāhore and Multān provinces with his headquarters at Dipālpur. The reign of Mubārak Shāh did not last long, because he plunged himself into a life of pleasure, which naturally made him idolent to the great prejudice of the interests of the state. The Sultān attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, pleasure and scattering gifts. He soon fell a victim

¹ *The Khazāin-ul-Futuh*—Amir Khusrau-Habib, pp. 27-28.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 363.

J. R. A. S.,—Oliver (1888), p. 99

² *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, pp. 322-323.

³ *Deval Rani or Ashiqā*—Amir Khusrau, Aligarh Text, p. 259.

Futuh-us-Salātīn Ismī—Ismī Agha Hasan, p. 336.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani-Text, p. 369.

to the conspiracy of Khusrau, and was stabbed to death at night in April, 1320.¹

Khusrau also abused his ill-gotten power in the most shameless manner like his predecessor. He gathered round him the lowest rabble of Delhi, and for five months the city of Delhi was veritably a pandemonium. The usurper favoured the Hindūs as against the Muslims. But his orgy of blood and violence did not last long. Khusrau Shāh was defeated and killed on Saturday, September 6th, 1320² by Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq.

Conclusion : During the Khilji regime, the Panjāb was divided into three main provinces and seven sub-provinces. Lāhore, Multān and Dipalpur were those provinces, while Ghurhām, Samānā, Sunām, Hānsi, Bhatindā, Sirhind and Jallandhar were sub-provinces. The governors of the sub-provinces were not subordinate to the Governors of the main provinces but during the Mughal invasions and at the time of other emergencies, their contingents were always put at the disposal of the latter. Sometimes, the Governor of the province of Lāhore was entrusted with the overall charge of the provinces of Multān and Dipalpur. Ghazi Khān Tughluq was ablest Governor of this period, who held charge of the Panjāb for fifteen years (1305-1320) and checked the Mughal menace and other destructive elements in the Panjāb. In addition to these three main provinces, he was made the warden of the marches.

The Governors in the Panjāb had never failed to pay to Centre the dues of their respective provinces, for they feared Alā-ud-din who never tolerated even the smallest irregularity on the part of his officers. The Governors and other important officers, however, had their own problems in running the administration smoothly, even though they wanted to work scrupulously both for the government and for the people. The momentous changes in the central cabinet greatly affected their positions, and jealousies and mutual frictions among the nobles brought about the fall even of the efficient and conscientious governors. Secondly, the Governors often tried to rise by foul means and aimed ultimately at the highest ranks of the realm. Such intrigues had become very common in the Panjāb after the death of Alā-ud-din when the government lost its prestige with the last Khilji Sultān, who was given to a life of pleasure. He eventually fell a victim to the conspiracy of Khusrau.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani-Text. p. 224.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 395.

² *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*—Edward Thomas, pp. 158, 176-192.

CHAPTER — V

THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY—1320-1413 A.D.

GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN TUGHLUQ SHĀH—1320-1325

Immediately after the murder of Qutab-ud-dīn Mubārik Shāh, Khusrau ascended the throne, under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrau Shāh, on 15th April, 1320¹, but could not be popular with the nobles because he was an Indian Muslim. Khusrau Shāh threw open the royal treasury and disbursed money very liberally to his own men.²

Ghāzi Khān Tughluq, the governor of Lāhore, and Dipālpur and his son, Jauna in Delhi were very much infuriated at the murder of the late Sultān Mubārik Shāh by Khusrau Shāh.³ They began to plan out for wreaking a vengeance on Khusrau and other Indian Muslim nobles, who were supporting him at the court. The first step that Ghāzi Khān took was to instruct his son Malik Jauna to join him at Dipalpur, before he advanced towards Delhi. He wrote letters to Amir Mughlatti, the governor of Multān⁴, Muhammad Shāh, the governor of Sivistān, Bahrām, Aibā, the governor of Uch, Yaklākhi, the governor of Samānā, Hoshang, the governor of Jalor⁵ and Āin-ul-Multāni, desiring all to assist him in the retaliatory war that he had intended to wage. The governors of Multān, Uch, Samānā and Sivistān were under his supremacy, but on account of no fixed law of succession among the Muslim kings even the petty and the faithful chiefs changed sides, and their loyalty was always suspected. The governor of Uch alone responded to the call of Ghāzi Tughluq. Āin-ul-Malik maintained his neutrality, though he assured him of his secret help. The governor of Multān Amir Mughlatti was already jealous of him. He refused to join him, because he regarded himself as the natural leader of the revolt.⁶ Ghāzi Khān, therefore, incited the 'Amirs' of Multan against Mughlatti. Mughlatti was attacked, ultimately captured and put to death. His successor Bahrām Sirāj joined Ghāzi Khān

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Faristā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 395

The Rehla of Ibn-Battutā—Mahdi Hussain, p. 50

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 85-86

² *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani-Text, p. 418

³ *The Rehla of Ibn-Battutā*—Mahdi Hussain, p. 48

History of India—Vol. III, E & D, p. 223

⁴ *The Futūh-us-Salātīn*, p. 62

⁵ *Tughluq Nāmā*—Amir Khusrau, p. 48

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Faristā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 395-398

against Khusrau Shāh. The governor of Samānā also refused to join Ghāzi Khān. It is significant that Ghāzi Khān Tughluq's appeal was mainly to the western frontier and even there he found little response. He had also failed to obtain the moral support of the great saint, Nizām-ud-dīn Aulya. All this reveals the true nature of the Tughluq revolution which overthrew Khusrau Shāh.

Khusrau Shāh's forty thousand troops marched for Dipālpur from Delhi under the over all command of his brother Khāni-i-Khānān. The royal army marched to Sarusti¹ but the Khāni-i-Khānān failed to capture it, and proceeded towards Dipālpur to meet the enemy. The fortress Sartabā was besieged.² On the other side Ghāzi Khān also moved towards Delhi from Dipalpur to face the royal forces. Passing through Alapur the army of Ghāzi Khān moved to Hauz-i-Baha.³ Ghāzi Khān, an experienced general, personally led the army. Khusrau's army was defeated, and Ghāzi Khān marched in triumph towards Delhi. On his way to Delhi, Ghāzi Khān crossed the Sarusti which was the extreme boundary⁴ of his provinces towards Delhi. He then reached Hānsi and whence he proceeded to Madina.⁵ Passing through Rohtak, Mandauti and Pālam, Ghāzi Malik fell upon the Royal soldiers. Khūsrau Shāh's army was totally defeated and fled in confusion. Khusrau Shāh was captured and beheaded. Ghāzi Khān Tughluq ascended the throne on September 8, 1320⁶ under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh Ghāzi.⁷

Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq was a person of mature age and possessed considerable tact and judgement. He had successfully repelled the repeated incursions of the Mughals and even attacked them up to Kābul, Qandhār, Ghazni and Garmser. Bahram Aiba, who had supported Ghāzi Khān Tughluq with an army from Multān for the struggle of the throne, was entrusted with the governorship of all the provinces on the banks of the Indus.⁸ In the meantime the Sultān strengthened his western frontiers by building new

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs. p. 398

² *Hauz-i-Alāi-Baranis-History of Tughluq*—S.M. Haq, p. 29

³ Alapur is in the vicinity of Hauz-i-Bahat. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—p. 90, writes as Hauz-i-Habatiar *Hauz-i-Bahati*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, p. 410, mentions Dalali, J.S.A.B. Raverty (1893) Pt-1, p. 262, gives Dabhali, Raverty says that Dabhali lay between Dipālpur and Sarusti or Siryā, thirty-six miles west of Abohar, Farīshṭā fixes the battle in the vicinity of Sarusti.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Siraj, Text, p. 120

⁵ A village few miles north of Rohtak (*Tughluqnāmā*—pp.54-57)

⁶ *Tughlaqnāmā*—Amir Khusrau, pp. 132-134, Ist of Shahbān, 720 A.H.

⁷ Ghiyās-ud-dīn is the first Sultān of Delhi to add the word Ghāzi (Slayer of the infidels) after his name.

⁸ *Tarikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, Text, p. 428

forts and establishing garrisons on the borders of Kābul.¹ Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq was killed by the fall of a roof of a pavillion in Delhi in February, 1325.²

During this short reign of less than five years, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq showed great ability in administration. The province remained safe from the Mughal menace, devastation and plundering since there did not occur any local revolt or any quarrel among the nobles of the Panjāb. The land system was equitably settled and the farming system was abolished by the order of the Sultān. The state treasury had almost been depleted by the reckless expenditure of Mubārak Shāh and Khusrau, and on account of granting jāgirs, on a large scale to those who had supported the late Khilji Sultāns in this part of the country. The Sultān not only issued orders to resume the land unlawfully granted, but also forced many to refund the amount that had been given to them.

MUHAMMAD-BIN-TUGHLUQ—1325-1351

Ulgah Khān (Prince Jauna Khān) ascended the throne, under the title of Muhammad Tughluq, after the death of his father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. His accession was well received by the people and there was no revolution and no opposition.³

Rebellion of Kashlu Khan—1328 :—Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was at Daultābad, when Malik Bahrām Aibā and Kashlū Khān, the governor of Uch, Sindh and Multān rebelled. According to Ibn Battutā, Kashlū Khān had incurred the Sultān's displeasure for having buried the corpses of Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāshp⁴ and Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādu. The Sultān had summoned him at the capital, but he refused to go. Different causes of his rebellion are given by the contemporary authorities. But it seems to be the refusal of the governor of this frontier region to send his family to the newly established capital, Daultābād and his quarrel with the messenger who brought to him the Sultān's order to this effect. Kashlū Khān raised the standard of revolt.

The Sultān marched from Daultābād to Delhi where he raised a fresh army and marched towards Multān. Both the armies met in the plain of Abōhar in the District of Ferozepore. Kashlū Khān was defeated and his army was completely routed. Kashlū Khān fled but was captured and executed. His head was hung up

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshī*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 403

² February, 1325 A.D. *Tārīkh-i-Farīshī*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 408
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 97

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, Text, pp. 46-57
Tārīkh-i-Farīshī—Vol. I Briggs, p. 133

⁴ Bahā-ud-dīn, the king's nephew, a nobleman of high representation the governor of Sagur, in the Deccan. (*Tārīkh-i-Farīshī*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 418)

at the gate of the city of Multān as a warning to others. The contemporary authorities assign no date to this rebellion but the circumstances leading up to it enable us to assign it to the year 1328 A.D. This rebellion is commonly known as the Multān rebellion, which was not the isolated rebellion of an individual but it was the war with the 'ulmā' evidenced by the fact that immediately on his entry into the city as victor, the Sultān seized the 'qazi' of Multān and got him flayed. The Sultān regarded this uprising as the nucleus of the rising against him of the joint forces of official anarchy and military aristocracy.¹

Rebellion of Malik Haider—1342 :—Malik Haider was a Mughal noble of Lāhore who proclaimed independence, appointed Gul Chander, one of the most influential chiefs among the Gakhars, the chief adviser and killed Tātār Khān, the governor of Lāhore, appointed by the Sultān. The Wazir Khāwājā Jahān raised an army and marched from Delhi to Lāhore.² Both the armies met on the banks of the Beās. Haider was defeated and a large number of his army was drowned in the river. Khāwājā Jahān advanced to Lāhore, where he punished all the leaders and the participants of the rebellion. Many were flayed alive and were mercilessly killed. It is said that three hundred widows of the rebels were imprisoned in the fort of Gawālīor.³

Rebellion of the Hindu Ryots—1343 :—The chiefs of the Ghurbām, Sunām, Kaithal and Samānā sub-provinces rebelled against the Sultān in 1343. The root cause of these rebellions was the refusal of the ryots to pay the land tax to the state and the rebels were mainly the Hindu peasants, who had entirely abandoned agriculture and deserted their villages. They assembled in large camps in the jungles, where they indulged in highway robberies. This rebellion spread up to the district of Kāngrā. The Sultān personally marched against them through Kaithal and Ghurbām. He Sultān plundered and broke the camps of the rebels. The gangs were dispersed but the ring-leaders were treated with condign punishments. Their ancestral lands were confiscated and they were brought to Delhi, where they were forced to embrace Islām and the ancestral lands were restored to them later, on due to their preference for conversion.⁴

The Sultān had marched against the ruler of Sindh who had given protection to Tughān, a rebel. The Sultān mustered his

¹ *The Rehla*—Aghā Mahdi Hussain, p. 97

Futuh-us-Sulātīn—Isīmī—(Madras-Ed.), p. 446

² *Rehla*—Ibn-Battutā—Def-et-Sang, Vol. III, pp. 332-333

³ *Barani's History of Tughluqs*—S.M. Haq, p. 74
Tārīkh-i-Farīshī—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 425-426

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 106

Tārīkh-i-Feroz Shāhī—Afīf (Cal. 1930), pp. 483-484

army from the provinces of Multān, Uch and Dipālpur and reached the banks of the Indus. He was just on the way to Thattā to give battle to Tughān and the ruler of Sindh, where he died on March 20, 1351.¹

FEROZE TUGHLUQ—1351-1388

The coronation of Ferōze Tughluq took place on 23rd March, 1351 at Thattā, unanimously supported by the nobles, the Shaikhs and the Ulemas of the court. Ferōze was the nephew of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. He was born in 1309. His mother was a Bhatti Rājput and a daughter of Ram Mal, a petty chief of Abohar in the Ferōzepur district. When Ghiyās-ud-dīn (Ghāzi Khan) was the governor of the Panjāb, with his capital at Dipālpur, who had heard of the beauty of Ram Mal's daughter and forced the chief to give her in marriage to his younger brother. Ram Mal did not agree to his proposal, and the governor thereby began to reduce the Rānā and his people to a great hardship. Seeing all these hardships falling on the people and her father, the girl asked her father to give her to the Sultān's brother. Ferōze Tughluq was the fruit of this marriage.²

This matrimonial alliance with the Hindu chief is of great significance according to Afif, who calls this age a period of rapid mixing of Hindu-Muslim blood. However, this marriage took place in 1307 and cannot be called as personal but political. The Muslim governors were experiencing great difficulties with regard to securing the co-operation of the Hindūs in day to day administrative problems. This step must have been initiated to create a congenial atmosphere between both the communities and to remove the causes of friction alienating one people from the other.

Ferōze Tughluq resumed his march from Thattā to Delhi having ransomed the captives taken by the Mughals. A force was left in Sindh to deal with rebel Tughān. On the way to Delhi, he halted at Dipālpur from where he went on a pilgrime to Pāk-pattan³, where lies the tomb of Shaikh Farid-ud-dīn, Ganj-i-Shakar. From Dipālpur to Delhi, Ferōze freely distributed alms to the poor and conferred 'ināms' and stipends on the deserving people. On reaching Sirsā, the Sultān heard the happy news of the death of Tughān

¹ *Rise and fall of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq*—Mahdi Hussain, pp. 164-165
Barani's History of the Tughluqs—S.M. Haq, p. 76
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 425

² *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Afif (Bib. Ind), pp. 36-37

³ District Montgomery, 118 miles from Lāhore, being the principal ferry over the Satluj. It was here that the two great routes from India to Central Asia met. the first via Manakhera, Shorkot and Harappā; the second via Multān. At this point too, the great conquerors Mahmūd Taimūr and the famous traveller Ibn-Battutā crossed the Satluj.

Khān. At Fatehābad¹ in Hissār district, Malik Maqbūl, who later became the Prime-Minister of Ferōze Tughluq, was conferred with the title of Khān-i-Jahān. He joined the camp of Ferōze with Amir Qabatagh. From Fatehābād, the Sultān came to Hānsi, where Ahmed Ayāz was appointed the Kotwāl of Hānsi. Malik Khatab was appointed the governor of the provinces of Sirhind and Multān, Kamāl-ud-dīn was given the fief of Samānā.²

Conquest of Nagarkot—1360 :—Rājā Rūp Chand, the Katoch of Nagarkot, in the early part of his reign C-1360, set out with his troops for an expedition on the plains and plundered the country almost to the gates of Delhi. Ferōze Tughluq marched from Delhi through Sirhind to attack Rājā Rūp Chand. The Sultān attacked the fort and the Katoch Rājā shut himself in the fort. The Sultān's forces plundered all his country. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. Ferōze Tughluq removed the golden umbrella, which was hanging over the idol. In the temple of Jawālā Mukhi, 1300 sacred books in Sanskrit were found. The Sultān ordered that some of those dealing natural sciences, augury and divination should be rendered into Persian verse. The court poet, Azz-ud-dīn Khālīd Khāni took up this work, and with many year's hard work translated these works into Persian poetry and named it 'Dalāil-i-Ferōze Shāhi.'³ The Sultān broke up the idols of Jawālā Mukhi and the broken pieces of the idols were mixed with the flesh of cows and hung in nose-bags of Brahman's necks. "The Brahmans were then paraded through the troops. The Sultān further sent the idols to Madīnā as a trophy of war against the infidels."⁴

Rājā Rūp Chand surrendered after six months' siege and was courteously received by the Sultān. The Rājā was permitted to retain his territory as a fief from Ferōze Tughluq.⁵ The later years of Ferōze Tughluq were clouded by sorrows and miseries. The administrative machinery became lax, and there was chaos and confusion. At the age of ninety the Sultān died on Sunday, September 20, 1388.⁶

LATER TUGHLUQ—1388-1414

Ferōze Tughluq was succeeded by his grandson, who took the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn II. He was an inexperienced and pleasure

¹ Twenty-nine miles from Hissār, twenty-six miles from Sirsā and one hundred and twenty-nine miles from Delhi

² *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol I, Briggs, p. 145

³ The Arguments of Feroze Shāh

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 454 455

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 455

⁶ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*—Vol I, Ranking, p. 255

Tawārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindī-Bāsū, p. 140

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 460

History of India—Vol. III, E & D, p. 317

loving youth. His disgruntled uncle, Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad, who had retreated to the hills of Sirmur,¹ was preparing to assert his claim to the throne. The first task of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq II was to strike at him. He sent his army to pursue his uncle to the hills of Simmūr.² But Muhammad had further fled to Suket and from Suket to Nagarkot, where he was sheltered by Rājā Sangārā Chand (C.1375 A.D.).³ Securing the wives and children of his adherents, Nāsir-ud-dīn gave battle, but was defeated by Khān Jahān and Nāhar Khān. The Sultān's army had shrunk from attacking the fort of Nagarkot and returned to Delhi. His cousin Abū Bakar son of Zafar Khān rebelled against him and murdered Ghiyās-ud-dīn on February 19, 1389, and himself ascended the throne.⁴

ABŪ BAKAR—1389-1390

Abū Bakar's authority was established at Delhi for some time, but a serious rebellion broke out at Samānā. The centurion officers rose against the governor, Khurshid,⁵ a loyal adherent of Abū Bakar and put him to death at Samānā. The centurions had civil and military powers, and used to collect revenue, and each such officer had one hundred men under his command. One of such Amirs, Junid of Samānā had assassinated Khurshid and sent his head to prince Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad at Nagarkot whom all the Afghān Amirs earnestly solicited to come and assert, his rights. He was then loitering in the Shivālik hills of Kāngra to make another attempt to capture the throne of Delhi. Muhammad having received the invitation immediately marched to Samānā passing through Dasūya⁶ and Jallandhar. He arrived at Samānā and crowned himself as the Sultān in April, 1389.⁷ Some discontented nobles from Delhi also joined him there. Muhammad started from Samānā to Delhi with twenty thousand horse which swelled to fifty thousand on the way, but he was defeated by Abu Bakar.⁸

Though Muhammad was defeated and had fled, yet he did not lose his courage to make another attempt for the throne. He sent his son Humāyun Khān to Samānā to enrol fresh troops. Muhammad had also won over many other nobles to his side from the court. He again took the field in July, 1389, with fifty thousand horse, but was beaten again by Abū Bakar. There were heavy casualties. Shortly after this Humāyun Khān was also

¹ Thirty-five miles north-east of Ambālā

² *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 258

³ *History of the Panjāb Hills State*—Vol. I, pp. 131-132

⁴ Twenty-one Safar, 791 *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindī-Bāsū, p. 143

⁵ 'Farishtā' gives Malik Sultān, the governor of Samānā, pp. 470-471.

⁶ 25, miles from Hoshiārpur to the north.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindī-Bāsū, p. 146

⁸ *Tawārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 468-469.

defeated at Pānīpat.¹ Notwithstanding this second blow, his authority was acknowledged in Multān, Lāhore, Hissār, Hānsi and other districts north of Delhi.²

A disorder had by now prevailed in the country. In most of the places blood baths took place, houses were burnt down and the roads were closed for traffic. The Hindūs ceased to pay the poll tax, and the 'zamindārs' of the country-side withheld the payment of taxes.³

The nobles of the various provinces now assembled at Delhi and acknowledged Muhammad as their king. Abu Bakar was imprisoned and Muhammad was raised to the throne on August 31, 1390.⁴

Rebellion of Shaikha Gakhar-1394:—Muhammad had appointed Sārang Khān the over all governor of the Panjāb who made his headquarter at Dipālpur. But during the struggle for the throne, the local chiefs of the Panjāb had become independent. Before Sārang Khān took over the charge, Shaikha Gakhar, who was an all powerful chief in the Salt Range had captured Lāhore. Sārang Khān collected more troops from Multān and began his preparations to deal with the Gakhar chief. At the end of the rainy season, Sārang Khān started for Lāhore with Rāi Diljit Bhatti of Bhatner, Rāi Dāud of Jallandhar, Rāi Kamāl-ud-din Main of Ludhiānā and some more petty chiefs of the Panjāb. He forded the Satluj at the village of Tihārā⁵ to Lāhore.⁶ Shaikhā Gakhar carried the war into Sārang Khān's country, by advancing into the Dipālpur district and laying the siege of Ajodhan (Pākpattan). Shaikhā Gakhar could not check the advance of Sārang Khān and therefore, he hastily retraced his steps and faced Sārang Khān, before he could reach Lāhore. A well contested engagement took place at Samuthla.⁷ Shaikhā Gakhar was routed, and he fled towards the Jammu Hills. Sārang Khān appointed his brother Khande, entitled Ādil Khān, the commander of Lāhore fort and himself returned to Dipālpur.

¹ *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh*—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 343.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 245.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I Briggs, pp. 470-471.

² *The Cambridge History of India*—Vol. III, p. 190.

³ *Tawārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 147.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 245.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 471-

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 246.

⁵ Fort of Tihara is situated on the bank of the Satluj to the West of Ludhiānā.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 157.

Ain-i-Akbari—Vol. I, Blochman, p. 154, *J.A.S.B.* (1869), p. 88.

⁷ Situated at a distance of twenty-one miles from Lāhore (*Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 165.)

Muhammad died in January, 1394 and was succeeded by Humāyun entitled Alā-ud-dīn Sikander Shāh, who also died on March 8, 1395. Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the youngest son of Muhammad-bin-Ferōze Khān, then came to the throne. This prince was destined to be the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty. His claim was disputed by Nusrat Shāh, who was the son of Fateh Khān, the eldest son of Ferōze Tughluq. Two kings in arms against each other were residing in same capital. They lived and quarrelled like the kings of the game of chess.¹

The Gakhar chief Shaikhā was dislodged from Lāhore by Sārang Khān, the governor of Dipālpur but he had taken the possession of Lāhore when Sārang Khān was busy towards Delhi affairs. On the other hand Sārang Khān had attacked Khizar Khān, the Sayyid governor of Multān, who had some differences with him and waged war against him. A fierce contest took place in 1395-96 between the two. Sārang Khān had expelled Khizar Khān from Multān and had annexed his fief. At last some of the men of Mardān Bhatti went over to the side of Sārang Khān, who collected a large army in May-June, 1397 and being emboldened by this success, he proceeded towards Samānā. Ghālib Khān, the governor of Samānā shut himself up in the fortress and put forth resistance, but, losing all power of opposition and meeting with reverses, he went to Pānipat with a small cavarly and footmen, and joined Tātār Khān, Nusrat Shāh directed Tātār Khān, the then governor of Pānipat, and Almās Beg to oppose him. They engaged and defeated Sārang Khān on October 4, 1396 and compelled him to fly back to Multān.² Ghālib Khān was reinstated as the governor of Samānā. Immediately after this, Pir Muhammad, the grandson of Amir Taimūr, having crossed the Indus had laid siege to Uch. Amir Taimūr led a terrible campaign into India in 1398-99. The governor of Uch, Ali Malik, had held for a month, when Sarāng Khān sent him a reinforcement of four thousand horse under his deputy Malik Tāj-ud-dīn, and Sārang Khān along with his family was taken prisoner in June, 1398.³ Before we trace the subsequent history of the Tughluq dynasty it is necessary to go back a little to relate, from the very beginning, the invasion of Taimūr which ultimately swept away the Tughluq dynasty.

AMĪR TAIMŪR 1398—99

Amir Taimūr was the ruler of Messōpotamiā, Irān and Afghānistān. The Delhi Sultanate was fast tottering and afforded

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 169.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 264.

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 481-482.
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 168.
Cambridge History of India—Vol. III, p. 194.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 162.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 266.

an opportunity to the Turkish conqueror to help himself at its expense. All the latter Tughluq rulers who succeeded Ferōze Tughluq, were utterly incompetent without any ability or strength of character. This led to a civil war amongst the rival claimants to the throne.

The Sultanate of Delhi began to disintegrate. The Muslim governors and the Hindu chiefs threw off their allegiance and became the 'de facto' sovereigns in their respective principalities. The Gakhars in the north-eastern Panjāb, who had never effectively been subjugated, rose in rebellion. This had been the state of affairs in this province when a harbinger of terror Amīr Taimūr appeared in the Panjāb.

In 1397, Taimūr gave the command to his grandson, Pīr Muhammad, to march further eastward into the Panjāb. Crossing Indus, Pīr Muhammad assaulted and took by storm the city of Uch. Later in May 1398, Sārang Khān was compelled to surrender Multān.

Taimūr had left Samarqand in March, 1398,¹ and set out for India with an army of ninety two thousand strong,² horsemen chiefly drawn from the Turkish tribes beyond the Oxus. He left Kābul on August 15, 1398, where he dispatched Amīr Sulaimān to join Pīr Muhammad at Multān himself and proceeded to Bannū. He crossed the Indus on September 20, 1398 at Dhankōt near Kālā-bāgh. Here Taimūr received envoys from the various rulers of India who being seized with alarm offered their submission. One of these rulers was Sikander Shāh of Kashmīr, who in turn was directed by Taimūr to join him with his full army at Dipālpur.³ After a long march, he reached the Jhelum to encounter Shihāb-ud-din, who being directed by the Sultān had advanced to the Jhelum, for the defence of the frontier of India. He laid siege to the fort of Shihāb-ud-din which was protected by a moat and was almost impregnable. He had first surrendered to Pīr Muhammad but later had subsequently changed his mind. Therefore, his submission was a necessity. He was compelled to fly and the fort was surrendered.⁴

After defeating Shihāb-ud-din Tamimi, Taimūr resumed his march along with the banks of the Jhelum and arrived at Shōrkōt

¹ Rajab 800 A. H. *Zaffarnāmā*, Sharaf-ud-din, Vol. II, p. 19

² *History of India*—Vol. III, E & D, p. 400.

Journal and Proceedings of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl—(1834), pp. 76-79.

Journal and Proceedings of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl—(1833) pp. 305-307.

³ *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-din—Vol. II, p. 64.

Malfūzāt-i-Taimūri—Vol. III, E & D, p. 411.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 485-486.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 485-486.

Malfūzāt-i-Taimūri—Vol. III, E & D, p. 413.

on the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenāb, on Thursday, October 3, 1398.¹ He encamped on the other bank facing the town of Tulambā, 52 miles north-east of Multān.² Here Taimūr exacted a ransom of two lacs with the exemption of Ulemās and Shaikhs.³

Jasrat Gakhar had occupied Lāhore, when Sārang Khān had lost his hold. Taimūr had wanted to capture Jasrat before he advanced on Delhi. He had moved to Shāhpur,⁴ situated opposite the town of Shāh Nawās.⁵ Here he led a sortie on Jasrat, the son of Sbaikhā Gakhar, who was routed by Taimūr's army. Many men of Jasrat were slain but later Jasrat joined Taimūr, because of his enmity with Sārang Khān.⁶

Marching from the town of Shāhnawāz, along the bank of the Rāvi, Taimūr encamped outside the village of Janjān, where the river was fordable. It was here that Taimūr received the detailed account of the difficulties, which beset his grandson Mirzā Pīr Muhammad Jahāngir after he had occupied Multān. Pīr Muhammad's movements had been retarded by an epizootic disease, which had destroyed most of the horses of his army. Added to this, Pīr Muhammad was harassed by the local peasants who exploited situation to their advantage. Taimūr's resources, replenished by plunder, enabled him to supply thirty thousand horse to Pīr Muhammad.⁷

After four day's halt at Janjān, Amīr Taimūr arrived at Jahwāl, via Sehwal and Aswān; where he encamped. The camp was situated on the Satluj about midway between Pākpattan and Dipālpur. Both the towns had incurred Taimūr's wrath by rising against his grandson. The news of the approach of Taimūr now greatly scared the people of Dipālpur. After Sārang Khān's governorship there was none to unite the people to fight against the invader. Abandoning the city, they took refuge in the fortress of Bhatner, then considered to be one of the strongest forts of north-western India. Taimūr appointed Amīr Shāh Malik and Daulat Tawachi to lead the main force to Delhi via Dipālpur and Samānā, while he himself marched via Pākpattan, where he visited

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 485.

² *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-dīn, Vol. II, pp. 47-48.
History of India—Vol. III, E & D, pp. 409-410.

³ *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-dīn, Vol. II, E & D, p. 56.
History of India—Vol. III, E & D, p. 414.

⁴ Thirty-two miles south-west of Bherā is situated on the left bank of Jhelum, exactly opposite Khushāb.

⁵ *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-dīn, Vol. II, p. 57.

⁶ The old site of Shāhnawāz seems to have disappeared because of changes in the course of rivers.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 487.

Zaffarnāmā—Sharaf-ud-dīn, Vol. II, pp. 59-62.

the tomb of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar. He had dispatched his harem and heavy baggage by way of Dipālpur to Samānā.¹

Taimūr reached Bhatner², after the march of eighty miles, where the fugitives of Dipālpur and Pākpatan had taken refuge. The ruler of Bhatner was a Bhatti Rajput named Dūl Chand, but his tribe was already being converted to Islām. Here all the Hindus and the Muslims fought against Taimūr. But he had ordered the arrest of all the refugees from Dipālpur and Pākpatan. About five hundred of them were massacred in cold blood, and their women and children were enslaved.³

The capture of the fort of Bhatner had a great significance for Taimūr. The forts of Sirsā, Bhatner, Abōhar and Bhatindā, situated at the four angles of a figure nearly a square, with a side about fifty miles along, were built each on the same plan and of the same dimensions, and thus formed a 'quadrilateral' on the direct route of invasion from Central Asia to India. The fort of Bhatner all the more commanded a strategic position among all.⁴ All these forts had easily fallen before the invader.

From Bhatner Taimūr, passing through Firozābād, Ahrōnī and Tohānā, reached the Ghagar, a river about half way between Bhatner and Sirsā, where Amīr Sulaimān joined him. A week later Taimūr was joined by the main army coming up from Dipālpur under Amīr Shāh Malik.⁵

Taimūr marched on Delhi on December 10, 1398 and occupied it. The details of his campaign of Delhi do not fall within the range of our study, therefore, I will skip over the events of his return journey, as the aim of the invader was not conquest but plunder.

Campaign in the Sivalik Hills:—Taimūr left Delhi on January 1, 1399 after fifteen days stay. Passing through Firōzābād (Delhi) he reached Meerut, which was stormed by him on 19th January, 1399 and after plundering the country of Hardwār, he moved to Ambālā. On this return journey, he had twenty conflicts in a month's campaign in the Shivālik hills with the Hindu chiefs and

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 488.

Mulfuzāt-i-Taimūri—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 488.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 171.

² Better known as Hanūmāngarh, fifty-eight miles from Bhatindā towards Bikāner, on the railway line.

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 488.

Zaffarnāmā—Sharaf-ud-dīn, Vol. II, pp. 64-68.

⁴ *The Ancient Geography of India*—Cunningham, p. 168.

⁵ *History of India*—Vol. III, E & D, p. 423.

Mulfuzāt-i-Taimūri—Vol. III, E & D, p. 423.

Zaffarnāmā—Vol. II, Sharaf-ud-dīn, pp. 77-84.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 489.

he captured seven fortresses.¹ One of these was the fortress of Shaikhu, a relative of Malik Shaikhā Gakhar. Shaikhu made his submission, but the inhabitants refused to pay the blackmail. To disarm them, Taimūr had to resort to stratagem. He offered them high prices for their weapons, even for the rusted and damaged ones. When out of greed for profit they had sold away all their arms, Taimūr asked them to depute forty men to serve under Hindu Shāh. Though the inhabitants were now unarmed, they refused to submit. The fortress was then assaulted, many persons were killed and many enslaved. Similarly the fort of Devā Rāi and five other fortresses were taken by Taimūr.²

Taimūr had heard of Nagarkot (Kāngrā) and wished to capture it but he does not seem to have penetrated into the interior of the Shivālik hills. Pathānkot and Nūrpur lay right in his way, and must have suffered. Taimūr has related the incidents of the campaign and he wrote about the battles he fought and spoils he secured, but Nagarkōt is not mentioned by him. His camp was probably at Dasūya³ at the time he resolved to subdue Nagarkōt, and the difficult character of the country prevented him from carrying out his design. After passing through Pāthānkot the passage of the Rāvi was probably made at Shāhpur Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrōtā and Sambā to Jammu.

Taimūr passed through Jammū, plundering and sacking the town where the inhabitants were slaughtered like cattle. He marched home-ward on March 5, 1399. He had sent one contingent to Lāhore. Shaikhā Gakhar had fled earlier from Taimūr's camp and had reoccupied Lāhore. The Gakhar chief had not paid any tribute to Hindū Shāh, the treasurer of Taimūr, when the latter had passed through Lāhore on his way back to Samarqand. This was the real cause that Pīr Muhammad was sent to set the Gakhar chief right. Pīr Muhammed attacked, collected the ransom money and took Shaikhā Gakhar and his son Jasrat as prisoners. Later Shaikha was beheaded.⁴ Before crossing the borders of the Panjāb, Taimūr appointed Khizr Khan who had formerly been expelled by Sārang Khān from the governorship of Multān, the governor of the provinces of Multān, Lāhore and Dipālpur.⁵ He crossed back the Indus on March 19, 1399, after inflicting on India more misery than had ever been inflicted by any conqueror in a single campaign.

¹ *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-din, Vol. II, pp. 159-160.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 496.

² *Zaffarnāmā*—Sharaf-ud-din, Vol. II, pp. 161-162.

History of India—Vol. III, E & D, p. 468.

³ Head-quarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Hoshiarpur District 25 miles north west of Hoshiarpur.

⁴ *Zaffarnāmā*—Vol. II, Sharaf-ud-din, pp. 169-175

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 497.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 497.

Taimūr left the Panjāb, nay, the whole of Northern India, all prostrate and bleeding. There was utter confusion and misery. The provinces of Samānā, Bhatner, Bhatinda, Dipālpur, Shivalik Hills, Lāhore, Multān, Jammū and Sindh were so thoroughly ravaged, plundered and burnt that it took these parts many years to recover their good old days. The men, women and children were butchered in cold blood. The standing crops were completely destroyed on both sides of Taimūr's long and double journey from the Indus to Delhi and back. Famine was the natural consequence of the destruction of stores of grain and standing crops. The Tughluq kingdom was totally uprooted. The Panjāb and the upper Sindh were governed by Khizr Khān, the viceroy of Taimūr. The province of Samānā was in the hands of Ghālib Khān, which turned it into an independent small kingdom. In other provinces of northern India, all the provincial governors had become independent. Thus, Taimūr completed the dissolution of the Sultānate of Delhi, which had begun to disintegrate from the later years of Muhammad Tughluq's reign.

KHIZR KHĀN—1399-1414

For a couple of months Delhi had presented a scene of dissolution and woe.¹ It was seized by Prince Nusrat Shāh, a cousin of Mahmud, who was soon expelled by Iqbāl Khān. The province was parcelled out into independent kingdoms, Lahore, Sindh and Multān under Khizr Khān. Samānā was under Bahrām Khān Turkbachā, who was formerly hostile to Sārang Khān but after his death Bahrām Khān was now in league with Khizr Khān, the ruler of Lahore, Sindh and Multān appointed by Taimūr.

Battle of Ajodhan (Pakpattan)—1405 :—Mallu Iqbāl Khān, the brother of Sārang Khān, thought of trying his luck in the west after having failed to subdue the independent kingdoms in the east. Taimūr died in January, 1405, which elated Iqbāl Khān and encouraged him to settle accounts with Taimūr's nominee, Khizr Khān, in the Panjāb. Bahrām the governor of Samānā was a very strong man and was the slave of Sultān Ferōze Tughluq.² Iqbāl Khān attacked Samānā in June-July 1405.³ Bahram Khān could not face Iqbāl Khān, and he fled to the hills, but later a treaty of peace was concluded between Mallu Iqbāl Khān and Bahrām Khān at the intercession of Sayyid Ilm-ud-din, the son of Sayyid Jalāl-ul-Haqq, for joining hands against Khizr Khān. Now the combined forces of Bahrām Khān Turkbachā, the chief of Samānā and Iqbāl Khān marched against Khizr Khān to capture him in Multān. Iqbāl Khān was very suspicious of the fidelity of Bahrām Khān, who had many local chiefs as his staunch adherents like Rāi Dāud, Rāi Bhāu son of Rai Bhatti, and Rāi Kamāl Main.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 173.

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 499.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 174.

Iqbāl Khān suspecting treachery on the part of Bahrām Khān got him flayed alive at the village of Talwandi and imprisoned his other supporters.

This action of Mallu Iqbāl Khān alienated the people of the Panjāb and particularly the chiefs who turned their fidelity to Khizr Khān, which encouraged him to collect his troops from Lāhore and Dipālpur and prepare to give battle to Iqbāl Khān. Both the armies met half way near Pākpatan and the battle was fought on the banks of the Dahindā¹ on November 12, 1405.² When the battle was in the full swing on both sides, per chance, Iqbāl Khān's horse was wounded and it got stuck in the swampy river bank. Seeing all this Khizr Khān's men fell upon him and his head was cut off, and the severed head was presented to Khizr Khān, who sent it further to Fatehpur³, his native place, where it was exhibited at the gate of the city. Khizr Khān thus remained all powerful in Panjāb, Multān and Sindh as the nominee of Amīr Taimūr.

MAHMŪD SHĀH—1399-1414

After the death of Mallu Iqbāl Khān, Mahmūd Shāh had once more ascended the throne in December, 1405 supported by Dāulat Khān Lodi, Ikhtiyār Khān and other leading nobles. Khizr Khān did not acknowledge him as his sovereign. Khizr Khān had appointed Bahrām Khān Turkbachā, another slave of Ferōze Tughluq his deputy at Samānā after the death of Bahrām Khān. Mahmūd Shāh sent Dāulat Khān Lodi against Bahrām Khān. The battle was fought and at Samānā on December 22, 1406,⁴ Dāulat Khān Lodi won the battle and Bahrām Khān Turkbachā was defeated. Hearing of the defeat of Bahrām Khān, Khizr Khān marched from Multān to the rescue of his deputy. Khizr Khān inflicted a crushing defeat on Dāulat Khān Lodi. The whole of the region to the west of the Jamunā now passed into the hands of Khizr Khan.⁵ But Mahmūd attacked Hissār-i-Ferozā in November-December, 1408. He reduced to submission the governor of Hissār, (Qwam Khān) appointed by Khizr Khān. This provoked Khizr Khan who besieged Mahmūd at Siri. The fall of Delhi had been very easy, but for the acute famine which had wasted the countryside for several years, Khizr Khān was no longer capable of

¹ A stream which branches off the Satluj to the east of Pākpatan flows south-west and joins it again about thirty-five miles lower down.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindī-Bāsū, p. 174.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 260.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshī—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 501.

³ Lat. 29.40 N. Long. 72-10 E., lies about twenty miles north-east of Kahrōr.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Sirhindī-Bāsū, p. 177

⁵ *Ibid.*

supporting his army for further invasion. Under the circumstances, Khizr Khān came back to his capital.¹

Khizr Khān, though returned without achieving anything worth the name, had made an appraisal of the situation of the country beyond Panjāb. He had seen the precarious position of Mahmūd, who was growing a mere figure head day by day. As he was fully convinced of his strength and the weakness of the Sultān, he had made persistent efforts to achieve the throne. In 1409 he attacked Bahrām Khān who was once his deputy at Samāna but he had now joined the Sultān and compelled him to submit. Next year Malik Idris, the governor of Rohtak was subdued.² In 1411-12, Khizr Khān's troops ravaged the country up to Nārnaul, which was in the hands of Iqlim Khān, and took into possession the environs of Delhi. Such depredations of Khizr Khān were going round Delhi when Mahmūd Shāh died a natural death at Kaithal in October, 1412.³ After his death the nobles of the court elected Daulat Khān as their Sultān. Khizr Khān marched on Delhi with sixty thousand strong horses and captured the throne on Monday June 4, 1414⁴ and with this the Sultānate of Delhi finally passed into the hands of Khizr Khan.

Conclusion :

During the Tughluq period, the Punjāb had to undergo many a political upheaval and it remained almost a cockpit of internal as well as external conflicts. It was divided into main provinces and sub-provinces as before. The main provinces were Lāhore, Multān and Dipālpur while there were such sub-provinces as Ghurhām, Samānā, Sunām, Hānsi, Sarusti (Sirsā), Kalānāur, Jallandhar and Sirhind. Ghāzi Khān Tughluq, the Governor of Multān, became the Emperor after the death of Mubārak Shāh under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. During his reign Bahrām Aibā became the governor, but at the accession of Muhammad Tughluq, he was executed. The reign of Muhammad Tughluq was all chaos because of the Sultān's oppressive policy of increasing taxes and of ruthless punishments meted out to his officers and the people had instigated the ambitious chiefs and the governors to take advantage of this opportunity to achieve their own ends. Thus the Governors of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur and of the other sub-provinces had always aimed at creating difficulties for the Sultān. They ran the administration of their respective provinces according to their own whims. They collected money as much as possible from their principalities but spared little to transmit to the Central Government. The chiefs of Ghurhām, Sunām, Kaithal and Samānā re-

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 178

Tārīkh-i-Farīshat—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 502

² *Ibid.*

³ Muharram 815 A.H. *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 180

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 181

belled in 1343, and the peasants of those provinces refused to pay the land tax. They deserted their villages and repaired to the jungles.

Ferōze Tughluq was a Panjābi, as his mother was a Bhatti Rājput from Abōhar. He gave a settled government to this province and under his strict control, the Governors of the provinces were kept in check and the people enjoyed peace. He gave great impetus to agriculture and provided irrigation facilities by digging canals and Persian wheels for the peasants. A canal was dug from the Satluj to Jhajjar, a second was dug from the Jamunā to irrigate Hissār-i-Ferōza and yet another cut at Sirhind. Trade also flourished and the Mughal invasions were checked. But after the death of Ferōze Tughluq, the Panjāb again fell into turmoil. The Muslim Governors and the Hindu chiefs threw off their allegiance declared themselves independents, and thus became 'de-facto' sovereigns in their own principalities. The Gakhars in the north-eastern Panjāb, who had never been effectively subjugated, rose in rebellion. This had been the state of affairs in the Panjāb when Amir Taimūr appeared in the Panjāb. He brought havoc everywhere, and the provinces of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Samānā, Bhātner, Bhatindā, Shivālik hills and Jammu were so thoroughly ravaged and plundered by him that it took these parts many years to recover their good old days.

This period had faced a great devastation during the return journey of Taimūr from Delhi, when he reached the foot of the Shivālik hills and advanced along the out-skirts of the hills to Jammū. He had heard of Nagarkot and wished to capture it, but did not penetrate so far into the interior of the hills. The Hindu Rājās gave him a tough fight. He passed through Bajwārā Dasuyā, Pathānkot and Nūrpur, and crossed the Rāvi at Shāhpur-Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrōtā and Sambā to Jammū. After Taimūr's departure from the Panjāb, Khizr Khān governed the province and after the death of Muhammad Shah, he became the first Sultān of the Sayyid dynasty.

Mahmūd captured the fort of Kāngrā in the Shivālik hill states, but the garrison left by him was expelled in 1043 by the Katoch Rājās. Since then for nearly three hundred years to come, this region had remained in possession of the Katoch Rājās. Till the time of the Tughluq Sultāns, the Muslims were unable to advance their frontier much beyond the Satluj. The fort of Kāngrā was captured by Ferōze Tughluq in about 1365, when Rūp Chand was the Rājā and since then we have a regular chain of the Hindu Rājās of this region and also a regular account of the Muslim penetration into this area. After the conquest of the fort of Kāngrā, it was restored to its Rājā by Ferōze Tughluq. After Rūp Chand's death, Sangāra Chand became the Rājā in 1375, who in turn was succeeded by Megh Chand in 1390.

CHAPTER—VI

THE SAYYID DYNASTY—1414-1451

SULTĀN SAYYID KHIZR KHĀN—1414-1421

Khizr Khān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, descended from Muhammad the Prophet of Islām, and was hence styled as Sayyid. This family originally came from Arabiā and settled in Multān, where the governor, Malik Mardān Dāulat, who was a man of pious disposition, adopted Khizr Khān's father Malik Sulaimān, as his son.¹ Malik Sulaimān was succeeded by his son Nāsir-ul-Mulk, on whose death the governorship of Multān was conferred on Khizr Khān by Sultān Ferōze Shāh.² Khizr Khān had continued to hold that office until he was expelled from Multān in 1395 by Sārang Khān's brother Mallu Iqbāl Khān. He escaped to Mewāt for some time but re-emerged to cast his lot with Taimūr. Amīr Taimūr had appointed Khizr Khān the viceroy of Delhi, but, after his departure, anarchy prevailed everywhere in northern India. Khizr Khān could only establish his authority over the provinces of Multān, Dipālpur, Lāhore and some parts of Sindh. He increased his power gradually and defeated Mallu Iqbāl Khān. He entered Delhi in triumph on June 6, 1414. He still considered himself to be the nominee of Taimūr³, and continued his allegiance to the latter's son, Shāh Rukh, whom he paid tribute throughout his reign. He had remained the undisputed ruler of the provinces of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur and Samānā, since 1399.

Politically India at that time was split up into a number of independent states, and the Sultānate of Delhi had long before the rise of the Sayyids, been considerably diminished in size and strength.⁴ The Turkish elements were far from being reconciled to the rule of the new dynasty, and in spite of Khizr Khān's conciliatory policy, they organized risings and plots which caused him considerable embarrassment.⁵

1 *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 181.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 352.

2 *Tārīkh-i-Farīshīā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 508.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 376.
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 182.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 182, 184.
History of India—Vol. III, E&D, p. 475.

4 The rule of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Pālam.
(*The Cambridge History of India*—Vol. III, p. 205).

5 *Tārīkh-i-Farīshīā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 508.

Khizr Khān sent his son Mubārak Khān to manage the disruptive elements in the Panjāb. The districts of Firōzepur and Sirhind and all the areas of Bahrām Khān Turkbachā were placed in his charge, and Malik Sādhū Nādīra was appointed his deputy. Zīrak Khān was made the governor of Samānā, with whose help the prince and his deputy Malik Sādhū Nādīra¹, brought the country under order. After having crushed the rebellious elements Mubārak Khān returned to Delhi in February, 1416.² The near relatives of Bahrām Khān Turkbachā who was dislodged by Mubārak Khān could not bear the loss of Sirhind. Just after four months of the departure of Prince Mubārak Khān from Samānā to Delhi, they sought the help of their leader Tughān Rāis and attacked Sirhind. They defeated and killed Malik Sādhū Nādīra the deputy of Prince Mubārak Khān in 1416 A.D., at Sirhind. The Prince despatched Malik Dāud and Zīrak Khān, the governor of Samānā, to deal with the rebels. Hearing the approach of Malik Daud and Zīrak Khān the rebels crossed the Satluj and retreated to the Shivālik hills. They were hotly pursued by the generals, but the chiefs of the Shivālik hills actively helped the fugitives and at last they were sheltered by the Rājā of Nagarkōt. Malik Dāud and Zīrak Khān had to abandon the pursuit after a couple of months, since they could not capture them in that difficult terrain.³ Kamāl Badhan was then appointed the deputy of Prince Mubārak Khān in place of Sadhu Nādīra, and Islām Khān the Governor of Sirhind.

Impostor Sarang Khan:

In 1419, the peace of the Panjāb was again disturbed by one Pseudo Sārang Khān who appeared in Bajwārā⁴ and pretended to be that Sārang Khān who had expelled Khizr Khān from Multān in 1396, a little before Taimūr's invasion.⁵

There was a big rising in Bajwārā as many interested people exploited the ignorant people to join the pretender. Khizr Khān directed Islām Khān, the Governor of Sirhind to march against

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 185.

Farishtā calls him 'Malik Ladho', Vol. I, Briggs, p. 510.

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 509.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 191-192.

Tāh-qāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 267.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 509.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 509.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 191-192.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 378.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 510.

⁴ Bajwārā is a small town, two miles south-east of Hoshiārpur. It was in former times the great city of this part and was celebrated for its cloth weavers and pious Brahmins, said to have been founded in ancient times by three immigrants from Ghazni, one of whom, Bāju Bāorā, a famous singer, gave his name to the town.

⁵ *History of India*—Vol. IV, E&D, p. 163

the impostor and to crush the rising. Islām Khān marched from Sirhind and was joined by Zirak Khān, the Governor of Samānā and Tughān Rāis, the Governor of Jallandhar. The impostor was supported by Khawājā Ali Mazindrāni, who was the Amīr of Jath¹ in Sindh. The pseudo Sārang Khān advanced from Bajwārā to Rupar to meet the combined forces of the Governors of Sirhind, Samānā and Jallandhar. Islam Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels who retreated into the Simla hills. The royalists occupied Rupar. The pretender was further pursued, but he eluded in the Shivālik hills and after quelling this rising, the Governors returned to their respective provinces. Later Tughān Rāis way-laid the impostor and put him to death in February, 1419² and took possession of the wealth which the pretender had amassed.

Malik Tughan Rais 1417 :—After the pursuit of the rebel Turkbāchās of Sirhind, Zirak Khān and Dāud Khān had to deal with Tughān Rāis, at whose instance the near relatives of Bahrām Khān Turkbāchā had rebelled in 1418.³ Malik Tughān Rāis, the chief of the rebel Turkbāchās, assassinated Malik Badhan and besieged Sirhind with a considerable army. Zirak Khān, the Governor of Samānā, marched against Tughān Rāis on Zirak Khān's approach. The Turkbāchās raised the siege, but Zirak Khān pursued the fleeing Turkbāchās up to Pāel.⁴ Tughān Rāis was compelled to pay a large indemnity yet he had to send one of his sons as hostage. He was further humiliated, when he was rewarded with the 'iqṭā' of Jallandhar⁵ for an act of subservience.⁶

SAYYID MUBĀRAK SHĀH—1421-1434

While on the death bed, Khizr Khān nominated his son, Mubārak Khān as his heir of the nobles having assembled and consented to elevate Mubārak Khān to the throne on May 22, 1421.⁷ He conferred the government of Lāhore and Dipalpur on

¹ Chahat-or Chath, which was a Mahāl in the Sārkār of Sindh and lay on the Ghaggar (*Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. II Jasrett, p. 296).

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Basu, pp. 195-196.

³ *Ibid.* p. 193.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 510.

⁴ The town of Pāel, the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name in the erstwhile Patiālā state, is officially called Sāhibgarh. It lies twenty miles from Ludhiānā and four miles from Chawa Pāel Railway station, to the west. This town was a Parganā in Akbar's time and had two brick forts K.K. Basu vide *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* p. 193, and K. S. Lal, vide *Twilight of the Sultānate*, p. 77 wrongly locate it near Dehrādoon.

⁵ Headquarters of Jallandhar Division, situated on the Grand Trunk Road, 86 miles from Lāhore and 231, miles from Delhi.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 187.
Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 257.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 189.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 510.

Malik Rajab Nādira, the son of Islām Khān.¹ The affairs of Hissār Ferōza and Hānsi provinces were conferred upon Malik Badr, the nephew of Sādhū Nādira.

The Mubārak Khān, (now Shāh) was threatened with dangers from all sides. Triple menace, of the Gakhars, the Turkbāchas and the Mughals had created an alarming situation in the provinces of Lāhore, Multān and Sindh.

Rebellion of Jasrat Gakhar :

Jasrat Gakhar was the son of Shaikhā Gakhar, who was the ruler of the country on both sides of the Jhelum, from Miānwali to Jhang Maghiānā and of the Shāhpur district. In the fifteenth century the Gakhars had grown powerful in the region between the Rāvi and the Chenāb, extending up to Kashmir hilly tracts. Jasrat had occupied Lāhore in 1396, and when Amīr Taimūr marched on Delhi through the southern Panjāb Jasrat had encountered him, but was defeated and had escaped to his father, Shaikhā Gakhar, in the Salt Range.²

Later when Taimūr advanced to attack Delhi, confusion and disorder had again prevailed in the Panjāb. Taking the advantage of this, Jasrat Gakhar and his father, Shaikhā again occupied Lāhore. When Taimūr was returning towards his homeward journey, the Gakhar chief was recaptured by him. Shaikhā was killed by the order of Taimūr. Jasrat Gakhar was carried as a prisoner to Samargand who later escaped from there, returned home and resumed the leadership of his tribe. He had carved out an independent kingdom, and taking advantage of the weak hold of the Sultān of Delhi on this part, he began to occupy the country more and more. Jasrat Gakhar gained all the more when a civil war broke out between two royal brothers, Ali Shāh and Shāki Khān of Kashmir. Sultān Zain-ul-Ābiden supported the Gakhar chief for his own designs. To his good luck, Tughān Rāis was defeated by Khizr Khān's general, Zirak Khān, and the defeated Tughān Rāis joined his standard with Jasrat Gakhar, and thus Jasrat had become a power to be reckoned with.³

Khizr Khān was well acquainted with all the strategic positions of the Panjāb. He had taken all measures to check turbulent and discontented chiefs. Khizr Khān's death was a golden opportunity for the Gakhar chief, because Mubārak Shāh could not

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 197.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 512.

² *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh*—Vol. III, E & D, p. 416.

Rauza-ut-Safā—Vol. VI, Mir Khawand, p. 105.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 513.

³ *J.S.A.B.*—XL-1871, Pt 1, 80.

Tārikh i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 163, Vol. II, p. 364.

Kashmir Under the Sultāns—Mahib-ul-Hassan, p. 69.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 201, 192-194.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, Jarrett-Sarkar, p. 271.

earlier check his growing power. Jasrat invited Tughān Rais, who had fled earlier from Jallandhar to join him. Jasrat appointed him his commander-in-chief and their first operation was directed against the eastern Panjāb. They first seized Lāhore.¹ Jasrat started from Siālkot, crossed the river Rāvi and the Satluj. He advanced upon Rāi Ferōze Kamāl-ud-din Main, the Governor of Ludhiānā, at Talwandi² and drove him towards the east.³ Jasrat further ravaged the country along the southern bank of the Satluj as far as Rupar, and recrossing the river he laid siege to Jallandhar which was placed under Zīrak Khān, who being hard pressed had to submit and was treacherously imprisoned. Zīrak Khan was carried off as a prisoner to Ludhiānā. While Jasrat was advancing on Sirhind, Islām Khān, the Governor of Sirhind, suddenly fell victim to Jasrat. The Gakhar chief laid the siege to the fort, but failed to take it because of the rainy season.⁴

This delay in capturing the fort gave an opportunity to the Sultān to approach Delhi for an immediate help. He left for Sirhind in July, 1421, via Samānā and encamped at Kōhila.⁵ Hearing about the royal advance, Jasrat raised the siege on Monday, the 28th July, 1421,⁶ and hurriedly retreated to Ludhiānā. In this retreat Zīrak Khān contrived to effect his escape from Jasrat's custody and immediately joined the Sultān at Samānā. The Sultān pursued the Gakhar chief to Ludhiānā with the combined forces, but to his surprise, Jasrat had crossed the Satluj with all the available boats at the ford. The river was in full spate, and all the boats were taken away by Jasrat with the result that royal forces could not go farther. For forty days they fought with each other, remaining posted in their respective posts. However, the Sultān continued his march along the bank, keeping pace with Jasrat on the other bank of the river. On October 8, 1421,⁷ when the rains abated, the Sultān ordered Sikander Tuhgā, Zīrak Khān, Mahmud Hasan and Malik Kālu to advance with speed to attack the Gakhar chief by surprise. They continued their march throughout the night and early in the morning forded the river at Rupar, which stood

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 514

² Rai Feroze Main was the chief of Sunām, forty-three miles south-west of Patialā town, and Talwandi is a small village near Sunām where the Sultān had encamped. (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 257).

³ "Betook himself to the desert". Sirhindi, p. 201.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 194.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Text, p. 183.

Tabqāt-i-Akbarī—Vol. I, p. 27.

⁵ Near Samānā, 17 miles to south-west of Patialā. This village is in Patialā District about 48 miles from Ludhiānā towards Delhi and is known as Koi or Khoi.

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 202.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. I, Text, p. 164.

about a mile from the left bank of the Satluj. The appearance of the royal contingent that fell upon Jasrat suddenly, sandwiched him. Jasrat forced his way through the two royal forces and took to flight to save his life. The Sultān's army killed many of Jasrat's men and captured his equipage. Jasrat fled to Jallandhar and further crossing the Beās, the Rāvi and the Chenāb he reached Talwārā situated in the lower slopes of Kashmir highlands. Even from there the Gakhar chief had to escape, because his old enemy Rājā Bhīm of Jammū led the royal forces to his stronghold, which was destroyed.¹

Reconstruction of Lahore-1422 :

Mubārak Shāh did not find it advisable to continue the pursuit of the fugitive Gakhar chief. In January 1422, he returned to Lāhore, which was deserted. This most important outpost of the Sultānate of Delhi was lying in ruins since the invasion of Taimūr. The people of Lāhore who had deserted their houses during the invasion, had not repopulated the town. Therefore, keeping in view the strategic position of Lāhore, Mubārak Shāh stayed there for one month. He got strengthened its defences, repaired the gates and built a mud wall around the city. He promised security, more facilities and compensation to those who would resettle there. He attached so much importance to Lāhore that he renamed the town after him, Mubārakabād. He appointed Mahmūd Hassan with a garrison of two thousand men, the military commander and then returned to Delhi.²

The destruction of Talwārā,³ situated in the lower slopes of the Kashmir highlands, a stronghold of the Gakhar chief, by the Sultān was intolerable for Jasrat as he was much enraged at that humiliation. He collected an army from the local 'zamindārs' and marched upon Mahmūd Hassan, the Governor of Lāhore, in May 1422. He encamped near the tomb of Shaikh-ul-Mashāikh Hassain Zanjāni⁴ and attacked the city, and invested it for five months, but was defeated by Mahmūd Hassan. Finding himself incapable of taking Lāhore from the Governor, Jasrat went to Kalānāur.⁵ It was situated in a strategic position where the fugitive could easily

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Text, p. 164

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, Jarrett-Sarkar, p. 272.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 203.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 203-204.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 273.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 515.

³ Twilight of the Sultānate"—K.L. Lal, App. B.

⁴ *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkar, p. 363 and notes.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 204.

⁵ 17 miles to the west of Gurdāspur town. It is the same town where Akbar the Great ascended to the throne.

seek shelter from the invading army.¹ because he had the full protection of Kāhnuwān Chhamb,² which ran almost the whole length of the Tahsil of Gurdāspur from Pandōri Bainsān on the north of Beri to the high bank of 'Dhaia'³ in the south.

When the intelligence of the attack of Lāhore by the Gakhar chief reached Mubārak Shāh in Delhi, he immediately ordered Rājā Bhīm of Jammū to intercept Jasrat. The Sultān also ordered Malik Sikander Tuhfā to go to Lāhore to reinforce Mahmūd Hassan. Rājā Bhīm encountered Jasrat at Kalānāur and drove him towards the Beās in August-September, 1422. Meanwhile the combined forces of Malik Sikandar and Mahmūd Hasan fell upon Jasrat's forces at Būhi (Pūhi), and drove him further across the Beās and the Rāvi and back into the hills of Talwārā. He was further pursued in the Talwārā hills by all the Muslim forces of Malik Rajab Nādira, the Governor of Dipālpur, Islām Khān Lodi, the Governor of Sirhind, Rai Ferōze Main and Rājā Bhīm, who hunted about the Gakhar chief into the Kashmir hills, but Jasrat had again eluded their grasp and the governors deputed by the Sultān returned to Lāhore.⁴

The attention of Mubārak Shāh at this critical time was diverted towards other disturbed parts of the country, and he could not pay full attention to check Jasrat. With the withdrawal of the generals from Lāhore, Jasrat again came out of his hilly retreat and attacked the Rājā of Jammū in April, 1428, ravaged his country and killed him in the battle. The strength of Jasrat was increased, as large quantities of arms and treasures of Rājā Bhīm fell into his hands. He was thus encouraged, and with the strength of ten to twelve thousand troops, Jasrat sacked the districts of Dipālpur and Lāhore. Malik Sikander Tuhfā, the newly appointed Governor of Lāhore in place of Mahmūd Hassan, immediately moved to check the progress of the Gakhar chief and alerted even the Governor of Dipālpur.

Jasrat could not achieve much, and being unable to make much headway against the Delhi army, he invited Amīr Shāikh, the Mughal Governor of Kābul, to help him in fighting Mubārak Shāh, but the Governor of Kābul could not come to his help at his call, as he himself was engaged towards more serious affairs of his own

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 204,

Tārikh-i-Fārishtā—Vol. I, Briggs. p. 516.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking. pp. 290-383.

² Marshes of the woods of Kāhnū.

³ It was here in the marshes of Kāhnuwān that the first Ghallu-Ghara (bloody carnage) of the Sikhs took place in 1746.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 220.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 297.

Tārikh-i-Fārishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 522.

kingdom.¹ Jasrat remained quiet during the next five years, though he continued to strengthen his troops and concentrated to consolidate his territory.

But later, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the royal armies of Mubārak Shāh in Bayānā and Mewāt, Jasrat once again laid siege to Kalānāur. The Sultān again deputed Zīrak Khān and Islām Khān to reinforce Malik Sikander Tuhfā to chastise the Gakhar chief but even before their arrival, Malik Sikander Tuhfā, the Governor of Lāhore and his deputy Ghālib Khān Kalānāuri had defeated him at Kāngrā in August-September, 1428.² Jasrat Gakhar again remained peaceful for about next five years, since he was fully convinced that he could not fight against the royal forces single handed.

FAULĀD AND THE SULTĀN

Faulād Turkbāchā was a slave of Shaikh Salim, the Governor of Bhatindā. Shaikh Salim had the districts of Sirsā. Amrohā and several 'parganas' in the Jamunā Doāb in addition to the fort of Bhatindā, where he collected a large treasure and a huge store of grain and provisions. After Shaikh Salim's death, early in 1430, Sultān Mubārak Shāh bestowed all his lands on Shaikh Salim's two sons who did not, however, seem to be satisfied with their lot and for ulterior motives incited Faulād, the slave of their late father, to revolt. At the time of Shaikh Salim's death, his two sons were in the royal camp. Faulād was a very greedy man, and he was the in charge of the fort of Bhatindā where Shaikh Salim had amassed a large amount of wealth. Faulād Turkbāchā rebelled and confiscated the treasure in July, 1430³.

It was suspected by Mubārak Shāh that the sons of Shaikh Salim had a hand in it and they were imprisoned under the order of the Sultan.⁴ On hearing the news of the insurrection of Faulād, Mubārak Shāh at once sent Malik Yusuf and Rāi Hansū, the son of Rāi Diljit Bhatti, to deal with the rebel, but they failed, as Faulād posing to negotiate for settlement, threw them off their guard and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. They fled and

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 220, 199, 201.

Bābarnāmā—Vol. I, Beveridge, p. 382.

Tārīkh-i-Gāzida—Vol. II, Tr. Brown, p. 134.

² *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 220.

Tārīkh-i-Fārishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 522.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 222-223.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 280.

Tārīkh-i-Fārishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 523-524.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 222-223.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 280.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 388.

Faulād Turkbāchā pursued them up to Sirsā. Their cash, goods and tents all fell into the hands of the Turkbāchā. At this defeat, Mubārak Shāh himself marched against Faulād and ordered Imād-ul-Malik, the Governor of Multān to join the royal forces. Before the advance of the forces under Mubārak Shāh, Zīrak Khān, Malik Kālu, Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān, who had been ordered to proceed against Faulād, had besieged the fort. Being hard pressed Faulād sought for interview with Imād-ul-Malik and agreed to submit to the Sultān, but he got a secret information that Mubārak Shāh was adamant to kill him and, therefore, under the fear of his death, Faulād gave up the idea of negotiations and carried on the struggle against the royalists. Mubārak Shāh became hesitant to take a drastic action, because he was informed that Faulād was trying to purchase help from the Governor of Kābul with the amassed wealth that he had preserved in the fort. Mubārak Shāh instead of forcing the rebel to surrender by intensifying the pressure on him, acted unwisely in slackening the operations against him. The Sultān ordered Imād-ul-Malik to withdraw to Multān. Leaving Islām Khān, Kamāl Khān and Rāi Ferōze Bhatti to carry on the investment of the fort of Bhatindā, by himself returned to Dehli, in November, 1480.¹

Faulād found himself in a tight corner and there was no way out except asking for foreign help with the offer of his vast treasure since he had the full apprehensions of being captured by the Sultān. This interval gave Faulād time to arrange for help from other quarters, and he sent his agents to Kābul invoking Shaikh Ali Mughal's help by promising a large sum of money in return. Shaikh Ali was much tempted to know all about the vast treasure of Faulād and marched with a large army from Kābul to the rescue of the Turkbāchā. In February-March, 1431,² he arrived on the banks of the Jhelum. Amir Muzaffar and Khajika, the nephews of the Gakhar chief, with a large army from Shōrkōt³ joined him at Talwārā⁴. Passing through Kasur,⁵ Shaikh Ali crossed the Beās at the ford of Būhi and ravaged the country of Rāi Ferōze, who was compelled to abandon the siege immediately without even

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū p. 323

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol I, p. 281

Tārikh-i-Farishtā Vol. I, Text p. 167

² Jamadi-ul-Akhar, 834 A.H. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 225 *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol, I, p. 281

Tārikh-i-Farishtā Vol. I, Text, p.167

³ District Jhāng, 11 miles from Tobā Tek Singh and 12 miles from Garh Mahārāj.

⁴ This Talwārā is situated opposite to Dipālpur.

⁵ 16 miles to the south of Raiwind station on the north bank of the Beās is Kasūr, founded, according to Hindū tradition by Kusā one of the two sons of Rāmā. The remains of twelve forts still exist around the town.

informing his other colleagues who were besieging the fort of Bhatindā.¹

Shaikh Ali plundered and devastated the principalities, particularly of those chiefs who were hostile to Faulād with a view to weakening them. He reached the fort of Bhatindā where Faulād was besieged. Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān left Bhatindā, when Shaikh Ali was yet ten miles away. Faulād came out of the fort and offered the stipulated amount of rupees two lacs for his timely help, and after this Faulād began to prepare himself for stronger defiance.² Shaikh Ali had advanced to Bhatindā unopposed and returned through the districts of Rāi Feroze, devastating all the villages in the way. He crossed the Satluj at Tihārā in the District of Ludhiānā. At Jallandhar, Shaikh Ali took a large number of prisoners and carried them to Jaran Manjar,³ and then he returned along the banks of the Beās. He arrived in Lāhore, crossing the Beās⁴ in April, 1431. Malik Sikander Tuhfā, the Governor of Lāhore saved his country from molestation by paying him the sum which he had been wont to pay annually.⁵ Shaikh Ali proceeded to Talwārā near Dipālpur from Lāhore. He sacked and pillaged the country for twenty days and put to death many people and took many more as prisoners. The people were much frightened and being afraid of the atrocities committed by Shaikh Ali, they began to desert their homes. Imād-ul-Malik moved from Multān to Tulambā and hearing of his move, Shaikh Ali returned to Kābul. Imād-ul-Malik did not pursue him because he was ordered by Mubārak Shāh to avoid a conflict with Shaikh Ali. This weak policy of the Sultān emboldened Shaikh Ali to loot the Panjāb again and again.

These events throw much light on the affairs in the Panjāb during Sultān Mubārak Shāh's reign. The Governor of Lāhore paid a tribute to induce Shaikh Ali, the Governor of Kābul, to refrain from molesting Lāhore during his retreat. From the reference to the yearly payment of black mail, it is clear that the kingdom had been exposed, during its intestine troubles, to the danger of invasion from the direction of Lāhore.

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 226.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I. Text, p. 167.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 226.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, pp. 338-339.

³ 'Jārān' modern Zira and Manjhar, modern Makhjahur, both the places are in Ferozepur District.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din, Barani, p. 250.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, 525.
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 227.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 226.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I. Text, p. 167,

Faulād who was a power to be reckoned with in Bhatindā had invited a powerful foreigner to his aid on payment and had also entrusted his family to his care, in order that they might be removed to a place of safety. The critical situation of the Panjāb of which Khizr Khān had enjoyed the virtual sovereignty for some time before his establishment on the throne of Delhi had secured it from foreign attacks. The pact of Faulād with Shaikh Ali was a grave danger to the Sultānate of Delhi.

During the later part of Mubārak Shāh's reign, the Mughal incursions into the Panjāb and Multān provinces constituted the most vital danger to the kingdom of Delhi. The attacks which were led by Shaikh Ali, the Mughal Governor of Kābul on behalf of Masūd Mirzā, the grand son of Shāh Rukh, are held by Farishtā to have been the outcome of unfriendly relations between Mubārak Shāh and Shāh Rukh.

Shaikh Ali retired with all ease to Kābul. But on his way back he crossed the Rāvi at Khātipur, plundered the country along the banks of the Chenāb and arrived within fifteen miles of Multān. Imād-ul-Malik, the Governor of Multān was not aware of this sudden attack. On hearing the advance of Shaikh Ali upon Multān, Imād-ul-Malik sent Sultān Shāh Lodi to intercept the invader, but Shaikh Ali's forces attacked unexpectedly. In this conflict Sultān Shāh Lodi was killed and his men were all scattered. There were very few who reached Multān to tell this sad tale of their narrow escape from Shaikh Ali.¹

Shaikh Ali occupied Khusroābād,² situated near Multān and encamped at Namāzgarh about five miles from the city. Next day he attacked the gates of the city, but Imād-ul-Malik faced Shaikh Ali like a brave general and compelled him to return to the camp. Shaikh Ali again attacked Multān twice on 6th and 8th June, 1431, but was all the time repulsed with heavy casualties. Imād-ul-Malik was further reinforced from Delhi and by other Governors of the Panjāb, such as Khān-i-Azām Fateh Khān, the son of Muzaffar Khān Gujrāti, Zīrak Khān, the Governor of Samāna, Malik Kālu, the keeper of elephants, Malik Yusuf, the son of Sarwar-ul-Malik and Rāi Hansū Bhatti. An offensive was planned by these combined generals against Shaikh Ali at Namāzgarh on July³ 13, 1431, and they sacked him completely, so much so that Shaikh Ali had to save his life by taking shelter behind the pile of his baggage. He was further chased by the royal forces up to the Chenāb, where he

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsu, pp. 226-2 27.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 167.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, p. 282.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 167, give 'Khairābād.' Also see Ibn-Battuta, *Defet Sang*, Vol. III, p. 127.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 229.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 526.

The Cambridge History of India—Vol. I. III p. 217.

was compelled to cross the river. Most of his soldiers, including his nephew Hāji Kar, were killed in action or were drowned in the river. Only a few could effect their escape to Shōrkōt. Yahyā Sirhindi writes that such a dire calamity had never befallen on any other army on any previous occasion or in any other reign of the Sultānate of Delhi.¹

Shaikh Ali was now thoroughly demoralized with this crushing defeat inflicted on him by the royalists. He returned to Kābul leaving behind his nephew Muzaffar at Shōrkōt. At the instance of the royal mandate sent by Mubārak Shāh from Delhi, the operation against Muzaffar was stayed. Soon after this event the Sultān becoming jealous of the popularity of Imād-ul-Mulik at Multān, recalled him to court² and appointed Malik Khair-ud-din in his place.

Mubārak Shāh had become jealous of Imād-ul-Mulik due to his victory over Shaikh Ali.³ The Sultān was wise enough to recall him, because it was always true that all such powerful Governors of the provinces used to raise their heads against their masters and usurped the power. Multān was an important frontier province of India and the removal of Imād-ul-Mulik was justifiable, because Khizr Khān was formerly one of such strong and popular Governors who had captured the throne of Delhi. Previously Mahmūd Hasan was shifted from the Governorship of Lāhore to that of Jallandhar in 1422 only on account of this fear. However, the removal of Imād-ul-Mulik, from Multān at this critical juncture was most indiscreet, imprudent and inconsiderate, as his removal later created a very grave situation in Multān.⁴

JASRAT GAKHAR—1431

The anarchical situation created in the Panjāb by the invasion of Shaikh Ali Mughal offered an opportunity to Jasrat Gakhar to be active again, who had then retreated to the Shivālik hills. He could also hire the help of Shaikh Ali, as Faulād Turkbāchā had done. Jasrat was watching the situation carefully when the Sultānate of Delhi was grappling with Shaikh Ali. What could be more opportune for the Gakhar chief than the present situation, when Shaikh Ali was anxious to avenge his recent defeat from the Sultān? He joined hands with Shaikh Ali and wanted to try his strength once more against the Sultān. He invited Shaikh Ali, who accepted the invitation and reappeared in Multān to help Jasrat. Meanwhile Jasrat also emerged from his retreat of Talwārā (Kashmir) and crossing the Chenāb, the Rāvi

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 228

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 526

² *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 526

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 167

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 229

and the Beās, he fell suddenly upon Sikander Tuhfā, the Governor of Jallandhar, in November, 1431¹, and met him on the Dhouli Bāin.² Sikander Tuhfā was defeated and taken prisoner by the Gakhar chief. Jasrat then marched to Lahore and besieged the city, which was bravely defended by Sayyid Najum-ud-din, the deputy of Sikander Tuhfā, and Malik Khushkhbar, his slave. Sikander Tuhfā was carried as a captive to Lāhore by Jasrat. Meanwhile, Shaikh Ali Mughal arrived in Multān and attacked Khātipur and several more villages on the Chenāb. On November 23, 1431, Shaikh Ali sacked Tulambā, occupied the citadel, and threw the leading citizens into prison, even after he had promised an amenity to its inhabitants.³ Faulād Turkbāchā, the rebel Governor of Bhatindā also marched out, devastated the country of Rāi Firōze and killed him in the battle. The whole of the Panjāb was thus now at the mercy of the rebels who spared no effort to plunder and to commit all sorts of atrocities.

Though Mubārak Shāh was completely confounded at the critical situation in the Panjāb, yet he acted with determination and promptitude. He dispatched Vazir Sarwar-ul-Mulik, with a large force in advance and himself followed with the army to Lāhore, en route to Multān, in January, 1432. The movement of Mubārak Shāh from Delhi had a salutary effect. He had arrived at Samānā, when Jasrat raised the siege of Lāhore and again retreated to Talwārā, carrying with him Sikander Tuhfā and other important men as captives. Hearing the advance of the Sultān and the retreat of Jasrat, Shaikh Ali Mughal also evacuated Tulambā and retreated towards Marwat on his way to Kabul. When the news of the withdrawals of Shaikh Ali Mughal and Jasrat reached the Sultān, he did not proceed further. He appointed Khān-i-Khānān Nusrat Khān Gurgandāz, the Governor of Lāhore and Jallandhar, and deputed Sarwar-ul-Mulik to escort the family of Sikander Tuhfā from Lāhore to Delhi.⁴

Mubārak Shāh had hardly turned his back from the Panjāb, when Jasrat reappeared from his retreat of Talwārā. He sacked the villages on the way to Lāhore and attacked the city in August,

¹ Rabi-ul-Avval, 835. H. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 231.

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 526

² The White stream, which emerges from the Shivālik hills in the Garh-Shankar tahsil, passing close to Domeli (the sweet village of the writer of this book) 5 miles to the east of Jullundur Cantt, crosses the Grand Trunk Road at chaherū.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 232

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 526

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 283

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 233

Tārīkh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 527

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I. Ranking, p. 390

1432.¹ Mubārak Shāh again marched from Delhi to Lāhore for the rescue of Nusrat Shāh, the Governor of Lāhore. He had moved up to Samānā, when he heard that Nusrat Khān had defeated the Gakhar chief. Jasrat again retreated and hearing the news of Jasrat's withdrawal, the Sultān again returned from Samānā to Pānipat and then to Delhi.

Reaching Delhi, Mubārak Shāh dispatched Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulik, Ilam Khān and Kahun Rāj to Bhatindā against Faulād Turkbāchā, who had grown stronger from the riches he had obtained from the country of Rāi Ferōze, the Governor of Sunām. It was at this time that the Sultān had transferred Jallandhar and Lāhore from the charge of Nusrat Khān to that of Malik Allāhdād Kākā Lodi.²

When the Gakhar chief heard about the transfer of Nusrat Khān from Lāhore, he once more came out of his retreat from the hills. He wanted to try his strength once more against the new Governor of Lāhore, Malik Allāhdād Kākā Lodi who was yet on the way to Lāhore to take over the charge. Jasrat marched to Bajwārā, one and a half miles to the south-east of Hoshiārpur and defeated the new Governor of Lāhore, who was compelled to seek shelter in Kōthi,³ situated between Jaijon and Māhilpur about ten miles to the south of Bajwārā.⁴

Faulād Turkbāchā, the Governor of Bhatindā, was besieged once again by the royal forces under Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Shaikh Ali Mughal advanced to Bhatindā for his help. The Sultān immediately sent Imād-ul-Mulk to reinforce the besieging army. The reinforcement from Delhi strengthened and emboldened the royal officers and the men who were besieging the fort of Bhatindā.⁵ But Shaikh Ali continued his march and issued from Shōrkōt, plundered the village along the banks of the Rāvi and took a number of prisoners from Sāhiwāl.⁶ The commanders of Lāhore garrison, Mulik Yusaf, Malik Ismāil, and Malik Rajā, fled before Shaikh Ali, who took possession of the Lāhore fort without shedding a drop of blood. He plundered the people of Lāhore, desecrated the mosques and after leaving a garrison of ten thousand

¹ Zilhijja, 836 A.H. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 233

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 233-234
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Text, p. 168.

³ It was the headquarter of a Mahāl during the Mughal period.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 234.
Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, pp. 390-391.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 527.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 235-236.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 528.

⁶ Sāhiwāl, is situated in Shāhpur District, 43, miles from Shāhpur, 53 miles from Jhang.

troops, marched out to attack Dipālpur, where Yūsaf Ali had taken shelter.¹

Imād-ul-Mulk was besieging the fort of Bhatindā when he heard about the advance of Shaikh Ali on Yūsaf Ali at Dipālpur. He at once sent his brother, Malik Ahmed, with a large force to hold Dipālpur. At this reinforcement, Shaikh Ali did not attack Dipālpur but took possession of all the towns between Lāhore and Dipālpur.²

This was the result of promoting incompetent men to the most responsible and high posts by Mubārak Shāh. In relinquishing Lāhore, Yūsaf Ali did not show any talent. He did not deserve the high rank of a Governor of this frontier province, but his appointment to it was due to his father, the Vazir Sarwar-ul-Mulk.

This cowardice and incompetency of Yūsaf Ali and other officers, who conducted the operation at Lāhore, had greatly annoyed Sultān Mubārak Shāh. Therefore, he marched to Samānā where he was joined by Kamāl-ud-din and the other officers who had been sent to Etāwa and Gwalior.³ In February, 1433, the combined forces advanced to Talwandi⁴ via Sunām where Imad-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān arrived from Bhatindā for consultations. The Sultān instructed the Amirs at Bhatindā not to abandon the siege of the fort and he advanced towards the Rāvi. Shaikh Ali was much alarmed and he crossed the Chenab before the Sultān reached Dipālpur.

Mubārak Shāh deputed Imād-ul Mulk for the pursuit of fleeing Shaikh Ali Mughal. Malik Sikander Tuhfā, who had secured his release earlier from Jasrat on payment of a heavy ransom, was given the title of Shamas-ul-Mulk and was ordered by the Sultān to invest Lāhore, which was held by the garrison of Shaikh Ali. The Sultān himself proceeded to Shōrkōt⁵ to deal with Amir Muzaffar, the nephew of Shaikh Ali, who was in possession of this area on behalf of his uncle. Amir submitted to the Sultān, after one month's resistance, in May, 1433.⁶ Amir Muzaffar forced his

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 235-236.
Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 528.

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 235.

³ Jamadi-ul-Akhar, 837 A. H.
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 236

⁴ 20, miles S. S. W, of Ludhiānā, the principality of Rāi Kamāl-ud-din Main (*Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* Sirhindi, Bāsū, p. 201).

⁵ Sirhindi vide-*Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, p. 236, writes Seor and Farishtā vide-*Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol I, Briggs, p. 528, writes Shwur, but Elliot and Nizam-ud-din (*Tabqāt-i-Akbari*) writes Shor i. e. Shorkot, situated among the low lands of the Chenāb, about 4 miles from the left bank of the river and 36 miles south-west of Jhang Town.

⁶ Ramzān, 837 A. H *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 220.

complete submission and he married his daughter to Mubārak Shāh's adopted son. He paid a large tribute and evacuated the fort of Shōrkōt. On the other hand, Imād-ul-Mulk, who was hotly chasing Shaikh Ali, succeeded in capturing a number of his horses and a good amount of his goods.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh, thus, succeeded at last in putting an end to the disorder in the Panjāb. From Shōrkōt, the Sultān returned to Dipālpur. He appointed Imād-ul-Mulk the Governor of Lāhore and Dipālpur. Making all these arrangements, he returned to Delhi. Shaikh Ali dared not come again, and thus the Sultān was able to save these two frontier provinces of India from the Mughal occupation for nearly a century to come. The Sultān was put to death on February 19, 1434.¹

Mubārak Shāh had ruled for a little more than thirteen years, under extremely trying circumstances. The Panjāb had been at the mercy of the rebels since his accession. Jasrat, the Gakhar chief, Shaikh Ali Mughal the Governor of Kābul, and Faulād Turkbāchā the Governor of Bhatindā were occupying and devastating one or the other part of the Panjāb. The aims of Jasrat, Tuakbāchā were evidently to carve out independent kingdoms, but the aim of the Governor of Kābul was simply to fish in troubled waters so as to plunder the people of the Panjāb.

Jasrat was an indefatigable warrior who fought against the Sultāns of Delhi for more than twenty years. He had first encountered Taimūr, in 1398, but having failed against Taimūr, he helped his father Shaikha Gakhar in occupying Lāhore under the very nose of the terrible conqueror. Taimūr carried him to Samarqand as a prisoner. His iron will did not allow him to lose courage and his privations must have steeled his character and made him a staunch enemy of the Sultān through whose incompetence he had to suffer so much. He had the courage to escape from the custody of the foreign sovereign and on his return he once more renewed his efforts to become the ruler of the Panjāb.

Mubārak Shāh coped with the anarchical situation in the Panjāb with ability. He was wise enough to transfer the Governors of the Provinces of Lāhore, Multān, Jalandhar and Dipālpur pretty often since he suspected their fidelity. Although sometimes such sudden transfers proved to be harmful, but his apprehensions about the loyalty of his nobles came out true when he was murdered by his most trusted nobles.²

However, Mubārak Shāh and his officers did a commendable work since they repeatedly chased out the invaders and stamped

¹ Rajab, 837, A. H. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 241.

² *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 530.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 287.

Muntakhūb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 290

out the local rebellions. He was capable and resourceful and had always at his disposal a loyal army of his and that of his governors who kept a watch on the important border posts of Lāhore, Dipālpur and Multān in the north and west, and fought to maintain his position at strategic points in the south and east. But he did not display similar shrewdness in the choice and treatment of his provincial governors and officers. He mistrusted them, effected their frequent transfers from the key positions and this, produced disastrous consequences which ultimately contributed to his tragic end. But at the same time it cannot be denied that Mubārak Shāh and his provincial governors did succeed in alleviating the sufferings of the people, without any distinction of caste or creed.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH—1434-1445

On the death of Mubārak Shāh, the nobles of Delhi elevated Ulugh Khān to the throne under the title of Muhammad Shāh but he soon disappointed all the nobles who had supported him in arranging the affairs of the kingdom, when he began to neglect his royal duties and became the lover of leisure and pleasure. In Multān the Langāhs, an Afghān tribe recently settled, rebelled against the Governor appointed by Muhammad Shāh. In every part of his kingdom, the provincial Governors became independent. It was during this period that the commanding qualities of Malik Bahlōl Lodi, nephew and adopted son of Islām Khān, the then Governor of Sirhind, first attracted his attention. As the Sultān was growing weaker and weaker, Bahlōl Lodi gradually extended his influence over the whole of the Panjāb and began to withhold the revenue payable to the royal treasury and thus the condition of the Delhi kingdom was growing deplorable. The Sultān's nominal authority did not extend beyond Pānipat to the north from Delhi.¹

BAHLOL LODI

Trouble was brewing in Sirhind as a consequence of which Bahlōl Lodi was coming into prominence day by day. As already stated Islām Khān Lodi was the Governor of Sirhind, during the reign of Mubārak Shāh, who died fighting against Shaikh Ali Mughal in May, 1431.² He was a brave general and a capable Governor of Sirhind, who was succeeded by his nephew Bahlōl Lodi. Islām Khān had preferred his nephew to his sons. This had excited the jealousy of Islām Khān's son, Qutb Khān, who sought the intervention of Muhammad Shāh, pleading that Bahlōl Lodi was carving out Sirhind as his Afghān stronghold.³

¹ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 243-244.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 534-535

² *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 227.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol I, Briggs, p. 525.

³ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*—Sirhindi-Bāsū, pp. 244-245.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol I, Briggs, pp. 533-534.

This was a golden opportunity for Muhammad Shāh furnished by Qutb Khān, who thus created dissensions among the Afghān nobles. Muhammad Shāh wanted to curb the rising power of the Afghāns. He ordered Malik Sikander Tuhfā to march upon Sirhind and to chastise Bahlōl Lodi. Malik Sikander sought the help of Jasrat and the combined forces fell upon Bahlōl Lodi. Being unable to face the heavy forces, Bahlōl Lodi retired to the Shivālik hills. Malik Sikander committed many atrocities on the Afghāns, made Qutb Khān feel ashamed of having appealed to Delhi. He and his uncle whose son Shāhin was killed in the battle, joined Bahlōl Lodi. Now Bahlōl became the undisputed representative of the Afghāns and being encouraged and backed by them he reoccupied Sirhind and began to usurp more and more districts in and around Sirhind.¹

Muhammad Shāh sent another force under Hisām Khān, the Kotwāl, to deal with Bahlōl Lodi. Hisām Khān had advanced up to Kharar,² where Bahlōl Lodi encountered him with five hundred horses only. Hisām Khan was defeated. This victory emboldened Bahlōl Lodi all the more and enhanced his prestige and ambition. But he was shrewd enough to act with cautious slyness. He sent a note to Muhammad Shāh of his resentment against the ill behaviour and depravity of Hisām Khan. He also assured his sincere attachment and loyalty to the Sayyid dynasty. Bahlōl Lodi further promised to attend the court on the condition that his enemy Hisām Khān should be put to death and that Hamid Khān be made the Vazir.³

The fickle minded Sultān could not see through the guile of Bahlōl Lodi and perhaps to win the loyalty of the Afghāns at that critical juncture the Sultān ordered Hisām Khān's death and raised Hamid Khān to the rank of the Prime-Minister. This act of the Sultān was a blunder of the first magnitude because the Sultān abused the confidence of those who had saved him from enemies and who were devoted to him. It was due to this reason that the confidence of all his adherents was shaken and the Governors of the provinces began to act in their own way. In the east, Ibrahim Sharqi took possession of many royal parganās. Beyond Pānipat, to the north and west, Bahlōl Lodi was gaining power. In Multān, the Langāhs rebelled against the Sayyid Governor in 1437.⁴ The farmers and 'zamindārs', foreseeing the convulsions that were

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*-Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 536-537.

² Tahsil headquarters in Ambālā District, 20, miles from Sirhind to the north-east, near Chandigarh.

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*--Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 537-538.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari-Vol. I, p. 295.

Tārikh-i-Sulatin-i-Afghāna-Ahmed Yādgar, pp. 4-5.

⁴ 841 A.H. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*-Sirhindi-Bāsū, p. 246
Tabqāt-i-Akbari-Vol. I, p. 291.

likely to occur, with held the revenue. This state of affairs was favourable for the encroachments of the neighbouring princes.¹

When Muhammad Shāh was attacked in 1440 by Sultān Mahmūd, Khilji of Malwa, who had established his power in Nagor, Hānsi and Hissār-i-Ferōza, Muhammad Shāh sent immediate summons to Bahlōl Lodi to help him. Bahlōl Lodi immediately arrived with his twenty thousand strong Afghāns. Mahmūd Shah did not advance in person against Sultān Muhammad Khilji, but sent his son Alā-ud-dīn at the head of a large army, making Bahlōl Lodi the commander of the vanguard. Alā-ud-dīn showed cowardice and he sought a truce with Khilji, but in spite of this Bahlōl Lodi treacherously attacked Mahmūd Khilji on his return march, killing a large number of his men and capturing some baggages and treasure. Muhammad Shāh became exceedingly pleased with this act. He gave him the title of Khān-i-Khānān and called him his son.²

While Muhammad Shāh was surrounded by his own disgruntled nobles, Bahlōl Lodi was consolidating his strength. He seized a number of royal districts including Dipālpur, Lāhore, Sunām and Hissār-i-Ferōza, caring little to the protests of Muhammad Shāh. When Jasrat Gakhar raised his head against the Sultān in 1441, Muhammad Shāh bestowed on Bahlōl Lodi all his conquered provinces of the Panjab as a price for chastising Jasrat.

Muhammad Shāh died in 1445. The Amirs and the chieftains openly declared their independence. Bahlōl Lodi had grown too strong and had assumed the title of Sultān, although he abstained for the time being from having the Khutba to be read or the coins to be struck in his own name.³

ALĀ-UD DĪN ĀLAM SHĀH—1445-1451

The new Sultān was even more incompetent than his father. Bahlōl Lodi was watching the rapid changes in the Sultānate of Delhi, and he tried his best to take the fullest advantage of the circumstances changing so rapidly in his favour. The province of Multan had elected a ruler of its own.⁴ The rest of the Panjāb, as far as Pānīpat and Hissār, was in Bahlol Lodi's possession. Everywhere there was insubordination of the Sultān. The revenues did not come forth. There was a quarrel between the new Sultān and his

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*-Vol. I, Briggs, p. 537.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*-Vol. I, p. 291.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā-Vol. I, Briggs, p. 538.

History of the Afghāns-Dorn, p. 44.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*-Vol. I, Text, pp. 170-171.

Tabqāt-i-Akbarī-Vol. I, p. 292.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*-Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 539-543.

Mukhzan-i-Afghānī-Niāmat-Ullā, p. 41.

Vazir Hamid Khān. Under these circumstances Ālam Shāh abdicated the throne in favour of Bahlōl Lodi on April 19, 1451.¹

Politically, at that time, India was split up into a number of independent states. The Sultānate of Delhi had, long before the rise of the Sayyids, been considerably diminished in its size and strength. The Turkish nobles in the Panjāb were far from being reconciled to the rule of the new dynasty, and in spite of Khizr Khān's reconciliatory policy, they organised risings and plots which caused the Sultān considerable embarrassment. During his reign, the districts of Ferozepur, Patiālā, Rōhtak, Ambālā, Sirhind and Ludhiānā, which were formerly under Bahrām Khān Turkbāchā, were then put in charge of Prince Mubārak Khān. Malik Sadhū Nādira was appointed the Prince's deputy. The sub-province of Samānā was given to Zīrak Khān. But the dislodged Turkish nobles protested and broke into open rebellion. Tuhgan Raīs in the Cis-Satluj region and one pretender, Sārang Khān in the Bist Jallandhar Doāb created disturbances which had to be crushed under the personal direction of the Sultān.

Mubārak Shāh had to face still greater troubles during his reign. He was threatened with danger from all sides. The triple menace of the Gakhars, the Turkbāchās and Shaikh Ali, the Mughal Governor of Kābul, created an alarming situation in the Panjāb.

The Gakhars, a recalcitrant tribe, inhabiting mostly the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenāb, had ever been raiding the surrounding territories. During the strong rule of Khizr Khān, they could not be very active, but, after his death, their indomitable leader, Jasrat made desperate attempts to overthrow the Sayyids. He joined hands with the Tughān Raīs, the Turkish rebel Governor of Sirhind and Shaikh Ali, the Mughal Governor of Kābul, against the Sultān. The Gakhar chief had at one stage dreamt of carving out a Hindū state in the Panjāb, but all his designs were crushed by the Sultān at an early stage.

The Turkish nobles such as Faulād Turkbāchā, the Governor of Bhatindā, had also challenged Mubārak Shāh. Faulād had hired the help of Shaikh Ali the Mughal Governor of Kābul, and for a couple of years, the royal forces could not dislodge him, and he ruled this region like an independent ruler.

The third menace was presented by Shaikh Ali, the Mughal Governor of Kābul, who always bargained with one or the other rebel Governor of the Panjab to help him against the Sultān. He never aimed at the conquest of the Panjāb. He sought only to make the best bargain, whenever any rebel sought his help against

¹ *Tārikh-i-Sulātin-i-Afāghāna*—A. Yādgār, p. 10.

Tārikh-i-Dāudi—Niāmat Ullā, p. 11.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 543.

the Sultān. But Mubārak Shāh faced the situation with great fortitude and courage and finally succeeded in overcoming all opponents.

The next Sultān, Muhammad Shāh, neglected his royal duties and became a lover of leisure and pleasure. The provincial Governors became independent in every part of his kingdom. In Multān, the Langhās defied him. In Sirhind, Malik Bahlōl Lodi gradually extended his influence over the whole of the Panjāb. The Sultān's authority did not extend beyond Pānipat to the north from Delhi. While Muhammad Shāh was surrounded by his own selfish nobles, Bahlōl Lodi was consolidating his strength in the Panjāb. He seized a number of royal districts, including the provinces of Dipālpur, Lāhore, Samānā and Hissār-i-Ferōzā, paying little heed to the protests and admonitions of the Sultān. In 1451, displacing Alā-ud-dīn Alam Shāh, Bahlōl ascended the throne at Delhi.

Among the indigenous chiefs, Hari Chand Katoch succeeded to the throne of Kāngrā C. 1405, after Taimūr's invasion. He was succeeded by Rājā Karam Chand C. 1414. Sansār Chand (I) C. 1430 was the last Rājā of Kāngrā who was the contemporary of the Sayyids. After the death of Ferōze Tughluq, the affairs of the Sultānate fell into great disorder and confusion, for more than one hundred years. Internecine strife on the plains must have largely diverted attention from the hills, and this Katoch kingdom of Kāngrā, like the other small hill states in the interior of the mountains, remained nearly independent. The Sayyids did not interfere in the day to day administration of these Hindū chiefs and during this period, the Katoch Rājās had no conflict with the Muslims.

CHAPTER—VII

THE LODI DYNASTY—1451-1526

BAHLOL LODI—1451-1489

Bahlōl Lodi was a strong man. Jasrat Gakhar had also died in 1442, and there was no other rascalitrant element left, in the political sphere of this province to disturb the peace during his reign. He had already taken Multān and reorganised his provincial army. He had overhauled his administration. Prince Nizām Khān Sikander Lodi, was appointed the governor of Sirhind. During Bahlōl's last days, Tatār Khān Yusaf Khail, the governor of Lāhore, and Saif Khān, the governor of Multān had rebelled against the Sultān but both the rebellions were crushed by Prince Nizām.¹ Bahlōl Lodi was seriously fallen ill and died in July 1489. Nizām Khān ascended the throne with the title of Sikander Shāh on Friday July 17, 1489.²

SIKANDER LODI—1418-1517

The Panjāb had remained peaceful during Bahlōl Lodi's reign. However, the hold of the Lodis on the Panjāb began to deteriorate. During the last days of Bahlōl Lodi, he had to face a difficult situation. The reason was that the Panjāb was held by Bahlōl Lodi for his Afghān relations and dependents, who in turn were not now loyal to the Lodi Sultān. But Bahlōl and Sikander were content with such acknowledgement of their supremacy as was indicated by occasional remittances of tribute of revenues.³

Sinkander Lodi remained deadly engaged against the Tomars of Gwalior for about ten years from 1500 to 1509 and during these years he had entirely neglected the north-west frontier of India. In 1505, Bābar had started his Indian campaigns. The government of Bhera,⁴ Khushāb⁵ and the Chenāb was held by Sayyid Ali Khān on behalf of Sikander Lodi, when Bābar came to the Panjāb for the first time in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Being alarm-

¹ *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqi*—Rizqullā, F 9(b).

Tārikh-i-Afāghāna—A. Yādgār, p. 31.

Tārikh-i-Dāudi—Abdullā, p. 32.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, p. 313.

Tārikh-i-Farishā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 531.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 312.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*—Vol. III, p. 241.

⁴ District Shāhpur.

⁵ District Shāhpur.

ed by Bābar's inroads, Sayyid Ali Khān surrendered the government of the Panjāb, Dipālpur and Sirhind to Dāulat Khān Lodi the son of Tātār Khān. The Sultān died on November 21, 1517,¹ and his eldest son, Ibrahim was elevated to the throne.

IBRĀHIM LODI—1517-1526

Bābar occupied Kābul in 1504. Since then he had been cherishing the ambition of invading the Panjāb. This opportunity came to Bābar at that time when the Delhi Sultānate was distracted by the ambitions, disaffections and rivalries among the Afghān nobles. The Afghāns were almost despised as the most scrupulous and undependable. Ibrāhīm was a foolish and headstrong ruler, who did not understand the character of his own Afghān nobles. Consequently many of the top ranking Lodis, Lohāni Farmūli and Niyazi Afghāns revolted against him and he had to resort to force in order to suppress them. This led to widespread dissatisfaction and disorder.

Ever since the days of Bahlōl Lodi, Dāulat Khān and his father Tātār Khān Lodi had been enjoying the sovereign title in the Panjāb and therefore, they regarded the Panjāb as their own kingdom. Dāulat Khān had ruled at Lāhore as an uncrowned king for twenty years.² Ibrāhīm was anxious to assure himself of Dāulat Khān's loyalty. He called him to the court, Dāulat Khān did not go in person, but he sent his son, Dilāwar Khān. The Sultān did not like this behaviour and threatened to take action should it become necessary.³

Dāulat Khān's real object in life was to retain supreme authority in the Panjāb. It was his house, which had extended the authority of the Afghāns there and had dispossessed the Mughals of the Western Panjāb. Dāulat Khān, therefore, naturally had also feared the movements of Bābar on the western side of the Indus.

Bābar occupied the whole country of Bherā, and Khushāb, including the low lands along the course of the Jhelum from the Salt Range to the junction of that river with the Chenāb. He appointed his own civil and military officers.⁴ From Bherā,

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, p. 334.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, p. 186.

Tārikh-i-Dāudi—Abdullā, p. 99.

² Tātār Khān the father of Dāulat Khān, was one of the six or seven chiefs who invaded and conquered Hindustan, and made Bahlol Emperor. This Tātār Khān possessed Sirhind and the country to the north of the Satluj. The revenue of these territories was upwards of three krors (*Memoirs of Bābar*-Vol. II, King, p. 97).

³ *Tārikh-i-Afghāna*—Ahmed Yādgār (Text. 1839), p. 87

⁴ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II. King, pp. 96-97.

Bābar had dispatched Mullā Murshid¹ to the court of Ibrāhīm Lodi with the proposal of returning portions of the western Panjāb which belonged to his uncle, Ulugh Beg Mirzā of Afghānistān. Dāulat Khān prevented the envoy from proceeding beyond Lāhore. He probably feared lest Ibrāhīm should deliver those districts and make friends with Bābar or reject the proposal and thus provoke a war with him in the Panjab. Since Bābar was not prepared to stay longer in the Panjāb or embark upon extensive operations at this stage, he did not push the matter further.² This expedition had proved eminently successful, as it bore the character of an inroad rather than a full scale invasion. Bābar was not able to leave a sufficient body of troops to retain the country he had acquired.

Bābar again came to the Panjāb in 1520 at the invitation of Dāulat Khān Lodi.³ He proceeded to Siālkot where the people were treated well. The inhabitants of Saidpur (Eminābād), however, offered resistance and were put to the sword. Their wives and children were taken into captivity and their property looted.⁴ The news of the raid of Shāh Beg Afghan of Quandhār compelled him to retrace his steps.⁵ So far the expeditions of Bābar were of a reconnoitring character. He must have found out that the road to the Panjāb was clear after the Indus was crossed. But the conquest of Qandhār was also necessary for the peace and safety of Afghānistān, which for obvious reason was to remain for the time being the base of his operations. Moreover, for Herāt, Kābul or the Panjab, Qandhār was a very strategic place.

The policy of Dāulat Khān was to avoid a conflict both with Bābar and Ibrāhīm Lodi. He would have preferred to be left alone in the Panjāb and from there to watch the development in the east and the west and in the ripeness of time to decide upon his final course of action. He must have been aware of the policy of Ibrāhīm Lodi, but probably expected that the nobles opposing him would settle with him. He did not even offer any serious resistance to Bābar either to keep him on his side or to show to Ibrāhīm the impending danger from the West and made him look more important than ever for the defence of the Lodi Empire. But the successes of Ibrāhīm Lodi had offered him an opportunity of which he could not avail himself, either owing to his guilty conscience, or selfishness or fear. Then came a hint of a threatening nature from the Sultān, which seemed to have frightened him

¹ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 98.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 35.

² *Bābarnāmā*—Vol. II, Beveridge, p. 380.

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 37.

⁴ Eminābād is situated to the south-east of Gujrānwāllā at a distance of 8 miles on the Gujrānwāllā-Amritsar road.

⁵ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 149.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 37.

out of his wits.¹ Equally alarming was the news that Qandhār which was a throne by the side of Bābar, had surrendered to Bābar in 1522, and the Shāh of Irān had done nothing about it. No serious obstacle now stood in Bābar's way to carry out large scale operations in the Panjāb. Bābar had good reasons to be angry with him for Hindu Beg and other officers, who had been sent to govern the territory conquered by Bābar, ultimately they were driven out. For Dāulat Khān, the moment for final decision had come.²

Ibrāhim was not fully posted with the affairs of the Panjab. Dāulat Khān had kidnapped the envoy of Bābar and drew up an iron curtain, for he feared lest an understanding between Bābar and Ibrāhim Lodi should throw him into an insignificant position and the supremacy over the Panjāb might pass to one or the other. Ibrāhim, therefore, could not fully apprise the situation on the North-Western frontier though he must have heard of the raids of Bābar. There was nothing startling so far in the career or achievements of Bābar which could strike terror in the heart of any of the important rulers in India. Such raids as Bābar had led so far were not uncommon during the regime of the Sultānate of Delhi.

In 1523, the Afghān nobles at Lāhore decided to send Ālam Khān Lodi and Dilāwar Khān the son of Dāulat Khān to Bābar in order to persuade him to help them in removing Ibrāhim Lodi and placing his uncle Ālam Khān on the throne.³ Whether Ibrāhim Lodi knew the details of the negotiations between Dāulat Khān and Ālam Khān Lodi on the one hand and Bābar on the other or not, he must have got an inkling of these. He, therefore, decided to send an army to capture and occupy Lahore. Biban Khān and Mubārak Khān reached Lāhore without any serious opposition and occupied it. Dilwār Khān had evacuated the town and gone to Multān, probably to wait there till the arrival of Bābar. The force of occupation was not strong enough nor its position so consolidated as to offer a successful resistance. It was easily defeated by Bābar who, captured, sacked and burnt Lāhore. To take full advantage of the initial and easy success Bābar pushed on to Dipālpūr and captured it in 1524.⁵ Here came Dāulat Khān to pay tribute to him. Bābar was pleased to appoint him the Governor of Jallandhar, Sultānpur and a few other districts.⁶ This was not what Dāulat Khān had bargained for.

1 *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 149.

2 *Tārikh-i-Afāghāna*—Ahmed Yādgār, Text, (1939), p. 87.

3 *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 150.

4 *Ibid* p. 161.

5 *Bābarnāmā*—Vol. II, Beveridge, p. 468, It was here when Bābar pictured the irrigation system prevalent in the Panjāb.

6 *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 38.

The loss of prestige along with the governorship of Lāhore came as rude shock to him and this opened his eyes.¹

Bābar advanced on Ismael Jilwāni, an Afghān chief of Tihāra, situated close to the left bank of the Satluj between Ludhiānā and Ferozepur, who was intending to harass Bābar. While the latter was persuaded to attack the Afghān chief of Tihāra, Bābar honoured Dilāwar Khān for the service he had rendered to him against his own father. He bestowed upon Dilāwar Khān the district of Sultānpur which Dāulat Khān had abandoned after being dis-satisfied with Bābar's reward. Dilāwar Khān was also honoured with the high title of Khān-i-Khānān.²

Bābar was almost the master of the Panjāb up to Sirhind, excluding the province of Multān. As he had to go back to Kābul, he entrusted his newly-acquired territories³ to some of his most trusted officers. Mir Abdul Aziz was appointed the governor of Dipālpur, under the supervision of Ālam Khān Lodi, and Muhammad Ali Tājak, the Governor of Kalānāur. Multān was under the Biloch tribe of Langāh.³

Bābar had merely recrossed the Indus on his return when Dāulat Khān and his son Ghāzi Khān revolted. They imprisoned Dilāwar Khān and kept him under close custody. They increased their forces rapidly and defeated Ālam Khān Lodi, the Governor of Dipālpur, recently appointed by Bābar. Ālam Khān escaped and fled to Kābul. Dāulat Khān attacked Siālkot with five thousand Afghāns, but faced a crushing defeat.⁴

Taking advantage of disorder in the Panjab, Ibrāhim sent an army against Dāulat Khān to bring him to knees. But so successful were the intrigues of Dāulat Khān in the imperial camp that he contrived to gain over the general of Ibrāhim's army with the result that this army was completely broken up at Bajwārā and the Sultān had to eat an humble pie.⁵

When the news of these developments reached Bābar he decided finally to embark on an expedition to the Panjab. He left Shāh Mir Hassan and some officers to guard Lāhore, and he himself moved ahead with all possible speed with his troops and reached Kalānāur. He was anxious to overtake Dāulat Khān Lodi

¹ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 151.

² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³ *Tawārikh-i-Faristhā*—Vol. II, Briggs, pp. 37-39.

⁴ *Bābarnāmā*—Vol. I, Beveridge, p. 442.

Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II, King, p. 152.

⁵ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 166.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 40.

⁶ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 153.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 41.

⁷ *The Bābarnāmā*—Vol. II, Beveridge, p. 445.

and Ghāzi Khān who were now seized with panic and had shut themselves in the fort of Mallōt near Hariānā, in Hoshiārpur District. He ordered Muhammad Ahmedi and Kutlaq Qadam to pursue them and they were strictly instructed to intercept every entrant into the fort of Mallōt.¹

After remaining on the hillock for two nights, the fort was searched by Bābar personally. He searched Ghāzi Khān's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of these he gave to Humāyūn and some he sent to Kāmran at Kābul.² Dilāwār Khān came and tendered his allegiance to Bābar. Dāulat Khān, Ali Khān, Ismāil Khān and some other leading men were handed over as prisoners to Kittā Beg.³ He set out with the prisoners for the fort of Mallōt situated in the district of Jhelum. Dāulat Khān died on the way at Sultānpur.⁴ Bābar gave this fort to Muhammad Ali Jang who put his elder brother, Arghūn, in charge of the place and himself departed with a body of troops, about 200 to 250. Hazārās and Afghāns were also left behind for its defence.⁵ Bābar continued his advance to Delhi via Dun⁶ and reached Rupar. It was here that Bābar had to descend from the hilly routes.⁷ From Rupar his army moved through Kurālī⁸ to Sirhind, and halted at Banūr⁹ and reached Pānipat.

THE BATTLE OF PĀNIPAT—1526

On three occasions has the fate of India been decided on the historic plain of Pānipat. Owing to its strategic location, on the highroad from Sirhind and Ferozepur to Delhi, Pānipat has been the scene of some of the most historic battles in northern Indian History. In fact, this entire tract, embracing at once Pānipat, Kurukshetrā and Tarāori (Train), has been the cockpit of Indian History. With a high mountain range on the one hand and the vast stretches of the desert on the other, it forms, if I may so put it, a bottleneck through which access to the vast riches of the Gangetic Plain, the culminating point of every invader's ambition,

¹ The fort of Mallot, founded in the reign of Sultān Bahlol Lodi, was Dāulat Khān's stronghold situated in the foot of the Shivālik hills, about 5 miles from Hariānā to the east, in Hoshiarpur District.

² *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol II, King, p. 169
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 42

³ This Mallot is of Jhelum District, 16 miles north-east of Pind Dādan Khān, remarkable for its forts and fine Bhudhist temple.

⁴ *The Bābarnāmā*—Vol. II, Beveridge, p. 461
Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II, King, p. 162

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 462

⁶ Shivalik Hill valley situated in Hoshiārpur District.

⁷ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II. King pp. 173-174

⁸ A railway station on the Sirhind and Rupar railway line.

⁹ 9 miles in the east of Rājpurā in Patialā District. Its ancient name was Pushapawati.

lies. The area itself is so close to Delhi that whenever, and for so long as, the empire which centred in that city existed as more than a mere phantom the political fortunes of one were almost inseparable from the other. Astride the successful invader's highway to the throne of Hindustān at Delhi, Pānipat thus inevitably formed an important link in the chain of the marching hordes communications with their homeland.¹

Bābar reached Pānipat² with his army by two marches on April³ 12, 1526. Sultān Ibrāhim had also reached with his one lac army and one thousand elephants.⁴ But considering the fact that there used to be in that age a number of camp followers and servants for every incumbent, the effective fighting strength of Ibrāhim's army could not have been more than forty thousand. Ibrāhim ordered his army to march forward at a quick pace, but it had to stop suddenly when it came near Bābar's strong defences. They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. "I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear and attack them with showers of arrows and press them vigorously."⁵ This caused some confusion among Ibrāhim's troops. Taking advantage of it, Bābar immediately ordered his Taulghamās⁶ to wheel round and attack the enemy in the rear. Ibrāhim now ordered an attack on Bābar's left wing and found himself in great difficulty. Bābar quickly reinforced the centre which succeeded in repelling the Afghān's right wing. Now Bābar ordered his gunners to open fire. Thus, the Afghāns, who were surrendered and over-whelmed found themselves exposed to artillery fire in front and arrows on either flank. The battle lasted from morning till noon.⁷ The superior strategy and generalship of Bābar put the Afghāns on the

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India—Provincial Series—Vol. I*, pp. 316-317.
Karnāl District Gazetteer, pp. 25-28.

² *Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II*, King, p. 181.

³ *Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II*, King, p. 186.
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. II, Briggs, pp. 44-45.

⁴ *Bābar-nāmā—Vol. II*, Beveridge, p. 463.

⁵ Taulghamā or Taulqamā is a Chaghtai word used to denote the troops posted in ambush to turn the enemy, or the action of turning the flank of the enemy. It was a manoeuvre executed by Bābar (*Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. I*, King, p. 194).

⁶ *Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II*, King, p. 186.
Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā—Vol. II, Briggs, pp. 44-45.

⁷ *Memoirs of Bābar—Vol. II*, King, p. 187.

run. Ibrāhim was killed fighting heroically, and fifteen to sixteen thousand of his men lay dead on the field.¹

This success of Bābar sealed the fate of the Lodi dynasty as effectively as his ancestor Taimūr had done that of the Tughluqs, and told seriously on the morale and already disintegrating organization of the Afghāns. Sultān Ibrāhim was slain, his army defeated with great slaughter, and Delhi captured by the victorious Bābar, who had thus laid the foundation of the Mughal empire in India.

¹ *Memoirs of Bābar*—Vol. II, King, p. 187.

CHAPTER—VIII

ADMINISTRATION

A—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

On the eve of the Turkish conquest, India was merely a congeries of independent States. The Hindu Shāhiyā dynasty had ruled the territory from Lamghān to the river Chenāb and from the southern Kashmir hills to the frontier of the Karmithian kingdom of Multān, with its capital at Und or Waihind.¹

After the extinction of the Hindū Shāhiyā kingdom, the Ghaznavids had established their rule in the Panjāb, in 1026, the importance of which, from the administrative point of view, has not yet properly been assessed. The main reason is the lack of relevant material, with particular reference to the Panjāb. The Ghaznavids, who became the first Muslim rulers of this province had almost brought the administrative set up of their own, which they borrowed from the Umayyads, Byzantine and Irānis.² “The rise of the Turks owes its (of Administration) origin in the political system adopted by the great Abbasides (751-1258 A.D.P.) and Mahmūd was only the finished product of this system.”³

The Muqti : The Punjāb was divided into ‘Iqtās’⁴ meaning the administrative divisions of the Revenue Assignments. Normally an ‘iqṭā’ corresponded to a town or to a tract comprising some villages, such as the ‘iqṭās’ of Ghur hām, Sunām, Sarusti, Samānā, Hānsi, Bhātner, Sirhind, Jallandhar, Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Shivālik Hills and Kalānāur. This type of political division was in vogue in the Central Asian States from which the Delhi Sultāns borrowed it.⁵ Three kinds of territories led to the creation of three types of ‘Iqtās’ (provinces). In the first kind the provinces were smaller in size and enjoyed greater supervision and control of the Sultāns. The governors of these provinces, such as Ghurhām, Hānsi, Bhātner, Samānā, Sunām, Sirhind, Jallandhar and Shivālik hills, were generally designated as ‘Wali’ and Muqti’ and enjoyed limited powers.⁶

¹ *Rājtarangini*—Vol. II-Kalhana-Stien, pp. 336-339.

Albruni's India—Vol. II-Sachau, pp. 10-14.

² *History of the Arabs*—Hitti, p. 330.

³ *Administrative System of Delhi Sultānate*—U. N. Day, p. 2.

⁴ *Assigning land to a subject on the part of a Prince*—F. Steingass, p. 87.

⁵ *Al-Kāmil-fit-Tawārikh*—Ibn-ul-Asir, pp. 178, 274.

Siyāsatnāmā—Nizām-ul-Mulk-MS-F, 28.

⁶ *Imārat-i-Āma*

Imārat-i-Khāsa.

The second category of 'Iqtās' such as of Lāhore, Dipālpur and Multān Provinces which were situated at a greater distances from Delhi and at the strategic positions, suffered from the absence of personal supervision of the Sultāns. The governors of these provinces were styled as 'Wali' and 'Naib' and sometimes they were given the title of a Sultān also. These governors enjoyed the privileges of the Governors with unlimited powers.¹

The third type was by usurpation. In this kind the native chiefs were allowed to retain their territories subject to their payment of tributes to the Sultān.

Under the Ghaznavids, generally speaking, there were three branches of administration in the Panjāb, viz, Civil, Military and Judicial. The Chief Civil Officer was called Sāhib i-Dewān (Governor) who was in charge of the collection of revenue and was directly responsible to the Prime-Minister at Ghazni. Many 'āmils' worked under him to collect the revenue from sub-divisions of the province. The highest military Officer was the Commander (Sipāh-Sālār) of the army, stationed in the Panjāb appointed by the Ghaznavid Sultāns. The Commander and the Governor worked independently of each other, but in case of need, one was required to help the other. In fact these two never helped each other, but they created troubles on account of their mutual jealousies. The highest Judicial Officer was the Qāzi-ul-Qazāt (Chief Justice) who besides his duties as a judge, supervised the administration of justice within his jurisdiction. It was his duty to see that the Qāzis (subordinate-justices) in the other sub-divisions and the outlying towns carried out their judicial functions satisfactorily.²

From the contemporary chroniclers, we do not get regular chain of appointments of the Governors and other Officers, to the main and sub-provinces of the Panjāb. Unfortunately the provincial governors were more interested in the matters which directly or indirectly concerned the Sultāns or other important matters which often changed the destinies of the kings and the Empire. All the same, the details of all the 'Muqtis'; 'Walis' and other officials, who played their part in the history of the Panjāb from time to time, under the period of our study, are described under their respective rulers.

The 'Muqti' was always appointed by the Sultān and could be transferred and dismissed at his sweet will. Such instances are on record, where the Sultāns acted accordingly. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq took immediate action when a Deputy Governor, who had already been dismissed for misconduct in Samānā, was appointed

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Masudi*—Baihaqi-Morley, p. 246.

Siyāsatnāmā—Nizām-ul-Mulk-Schefer, pp. 77-78

² *Tārīkh-i-Masudi*—Baihaqi-Morley, pp. 447, 459

Siyāsatnāmā—Nizām-ul-Mulk-Schefer, p. 150

to Gujarat, and after some time had to be dismissed again to the great relief of the people.¹

The 'Wali' was considered to be higher than a 'Muqti' in status ; for whereas the latter appellation was used for any Governor, the former was seldom applied to a minor provincial chief. In all probability the term 'Wali' was reserved for Governors with extra-ordinary powers. The number of such Governors was small, the major part of the Sultānate was administered by Governors with limited powers.²

Usually the 'Muqti' maintained a body of troops consisting of both infantry and horsemen, out of his own provincial revenue. He was responsible not only for the defence of his 'Iqtā', but also for the maintenance of law and order. The 'Muqti' was expected to collect the revenue and deduct from it the amount granted to him. He was to remit the balance to the Central Government. According to law, if the realisation from an 'Iqtā' fell short of the amount granted to the 'Muqti', he could not demand the deficit from the Central Government.³

Although it is not recorded that 'Muqti' as a rule despatched the surplus revenue of his province after deducting the expenses of the army and the administration, yet, instances are not rare to warrant such a supposition. The 'Muqti' of Lāhore and Multān were directed by Muhammad Ghōri in 1204 to dispatch the arrears of revenue for utilization in his campaign in Trānsoxiana.⁴ Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq had given very clear instructions to the 'Muqtis' as regards the utilization of the provincial revenue. The 'Muqtis' could not misuse the State Revenue, thus collected from the people. They had the strict orders that : "Those 'Muqtis' who embezzled the money and tampered with the account and exacted more than specified share from the 'Iqtā' would be punished with chains and imprisonment."⁵ There are many instances, when the defaulters were publicly flayed, dismissed and executed.

The 'Muqtis' were responsible for the civil and military administration of the province, as the Muslim conquest was in the

¹ *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*—Moreland, p. 55.

² "As regards governors' powers, he should know that his right over the subjects is only to take the rightful amount or money or perquisite in a peaceful manner, the life, property and the family of the subject should be immune from, any harm, the 'Muqtis' have no right over them ; if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the Sultān, the 'Muqti' should not prevent him. Every 'Muqti' who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished.....After three or four years, the 'Āmils' and the 'Muqtis' should be transferred so that they may not be too strong" (*Siyāsātāmā*—Ali Hasan Scheffer, p. 37)

³ *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Nizāmi, F. 191 b.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. II, Raverty, p. 482

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 431

nature of a military occupation. Earlier the Ghaznavids had realized that their dominion of the Panjāb required a military Governor to make an impression on the recalcitrant Gakhar chiefs. The ordinary administration of the indigenous civilian type was changed and Ahmed Niāltigin was appointed the military Governor of the Panjāb¹ for the first time. The maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the primary duty of the 'Muqti'. He enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the matter of fighting against the Hindūs as well as foreign invaders. He was expected to join the royal forces with his contingents whenever required to do so and failure was considered an act of rebellion. The strength, pay and equipment of the provincial army were sometimes fixed, which the 'Muqti' was not allowed to alter, but it is doubtful if this was a continuation of the earlier system.² Before Ala-ud-din's centralization, no such detailed interference with army administration was in existence. Balban had instructed Bughrā Khān, the 'Muqti' of Samānā and Sunām, to double the troops by new recruitment and also to increase their pay.³ Bughrā Khān was further impressed of the necessity of keeping himself informed about every detail of his military affairs.⁴ The 'Muqti' had also its muster-master (Āriz) who was represented at the Central Government by his Nāib.⁵

The 'Muqti' was generally a resident in the province but in some cases, particularly in provinces near Delhi, there were absentee governors who ruled through their deputies (nāibs), sometimes appointed by the Central Government. Hindū Khān ruled the province of Utch through his deputy after he had returned to court in the reign of Bahrām.⁶ Balban was the 'Muqti' of Hānsi and Shivālik hill country, but on his appointment as the Nāib-i-Māmlīkat which necessitated his presence constantly in Delhi, he had appointed his deputies to administer his 'Iqtās'. Later when Balban was dismissed by Nāsir-ud-din in 1253, the 'Iqtā' of Hānsi was placed in charge of Prince Mahmūd but the province of 'Hānsi' was governed by the deputy of the prince.⁷

The 'Muqtis' were expected to maintain good standards of administration, and enjoyed almost complete independence in the management of their affairs. Whenever the Sultānate was weak, sometimes even the formal allegiance of the Governors was withheld. The 'Muqti' was the head of provincial government and its chief executive officer but his power was kept in check. The Governors could always be removed from their posts on the ground

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqi*—Baihaqi, pp. 325-327

² *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 431

³ *Ibid.*, p. 80

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116

⁶ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 399

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158, 214, 295.

of maladministration, and the people were given the right of approaching the Sultān against them. In matters of justice appeals from the Provincial courts could always be filed with the Sultāns. In financial matters the provincial Dewān was practically independent and was responsible to the Central Government only. The presence of the 'brids' and spies, who informed the Sultān of everything that happened in the provinces, always reminded them of their duties. All the ministers at the capital had control over the corresponding departments in the provinces. The 'Muqtis' military power was kept in check by the fact that the provincial military department was under the local 'āriz' who was responsible to the 'Āriz-i-Mumalik'¹ at the centre.²

The 'Muqti's office was not hereditary and he was subject to transfer or recall after some time. The Sultān's endeavoured to control the provincial governments by making tours of inspection and sending the robes of honour to the Governors on certain occasions. Under the weak Sultāns, the provincial governors behaved almost as independent rulers. When the Sultān was dying and the grip of the Central Government became lax, trouble invariably arose in a province.³ The Sultān held always his position by virtue of his high political wisdom and administrative genius. The incumbent of the provincial posts for instance the Nāib-ul-Makhzan, and the Nāib-ul-Askar, appointed by him were very powerful in the provincial capitals, as they worked in different capacities under the Governor, although technically the former was the superintendent of the treasury and the latter the commander or captain of the army.

2. **Shiqdar**⁴: Under the Sultāns every province was further divided into a number of districts, popularly known as 'Shiqs' and a 'Shiq' was sub-divided into towns or 'Madina.'⁵ Every town had its dependency, a 'Sadi',⁶ a collection of one hundred villages, which was known as 'Parganā.' A 'Parganā' was sometimes called a 'Qasbā'. The extent and area of a 'Parganā' is not defined in the contemporary accounts. The head of a 'Shiq' was called an 'Āmil' or 'Nāzim' or 'Shiqdār'. "It seems, however, more probably that with the suppression of the authority of the Hindū chieftains and the growth of direct administration, the original provinces proved too extensive, and some of them at least were split into smaller administrative areas."⁷ Thus with the growth and development of the

¹ Minister of War.

² *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Hasan Nizāmi, Ms. ff. 144b-148b. 192-193.

³ *The Rehlā*—Vol. III, Def. et Sang, p. 350.

⁴ A governor ; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division.

⁵ Madinā means a town (*Ibn-Batuttā*—Vol. III Def. et. Sang, p. 97)

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 512.

Ibn-Batuttā—Vol. III, Def. et Sang, p. 388.

⁷ *The Administration of the Sultānate of Delhi*—Qureshi, p. 201.

provincial administration it was found necessary to divide the provinces into 'Shiqs'¹ which were put under Shiqdārs.

The term 'Shiq' is often used by the chroniclers to indicate a division. But in fact the 'Shiq' in vogue during the Sultānate only implied a small province not enjoying all the privileges which were associated with a province. Later on it began to be used for a subdivision of a province,² as "Hissār-i-Firōzā had been entered in the revenue account as belonging to the 'Shiq' of Hānsi."³ But Hānsi was a province or a part of the kingdom when he wrote 'Shiq' of Hānsi. It was in the later stage of the Sultāns when the Afghān empire decayed, the 'Shiq' emerged as a Sarkār and the officer in charge of a Sarkār was called Shiqdār-i-Shiqdāran.⁴

3. **The Kotwal:** The routine duties of the police department were performed by the Kōtwāl. The town or city was an administrative unit under the charge of the Kōtwāl, who exercised all kinds of powers. He held command of the fortress which during the Sultānate period was an essential part of a city. He was the governor and the administrator of the city and responsible for the welfare of its inhabitants. "The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Through his watchfulness and night patrolling the citizens could enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence."⁵

The Kōtwāl was to act in co-operation with the inhabitants. He always maintained a register of the inhabitants of every quarter, kept himself informed of their activities and means of livelihood, and took cognizance of every new arrival and departure. His jurisdiction sometimes also extended to the rural areas. He acted as a committing magistrate, but he was not a military commander. His force was essentially civilian in character; though when the term was applied to the military commandant of a fort, it implied civil as well as military authority.⁶ When Tayar, the Mughal general, laid siege to the city of Lāhore in 1241, the Governor Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-din Qarāqash did not resist the invader and surrendered the city at midnight. Aqsankar, the Kōtwāl of Lāhore and Muhammad, the 'Amir-i-Akhur',⁷ continued fighting with the Mughals and had put most of them to sword. Kōtwāl unluckily died in the battle, but the Mughal general Tayar was also killed.⁸

1 *Tārīkh-i-Feroz Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 479-501.

2 *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*—Moreland, pp. 25, 277.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Shamas Sirāj Afīf (Bib-Ind), p. 128.

4 The Chief Shiqdār.

5 *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkār, p. 43.

6 *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 135-136.

Tāj-ul-Māsir—Hasan Nizāmi, p. 82.

7 Lord of the Stable.

8 *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 385, 394.

The Kōtwāl acting as the governor and administrator had to be very vigilant. He had to form a quarter by the union of a certain number of inhabitants and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence, and he received under his seal a daily report of those who entered or left it, and of whatever events occurred there. He had to appoint spies one among the obscure residents with whom the other should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a needful scrutiny. It was his duty to guard the thoroughfares of the streets and to erect barriers at the entrances and secure freedom from defilement.¹

Forts were built at the strategic points where the Kōtwāls were stationed to keep the roads open and punish thieves. Sultān Yamid-ud-Daulā Mahmūd had appointed Sārugh as the Kōtwāl of the fort of Nandānā in 1014 A.D. and entrusted him with the military as well as civil powers. Later these Kōtwāl came to be known as Faujdārs.²

PARGANĀ

The next smaller unit of administration in the Panjāb after the 'Shiq' was the 'Parganā'. It was also sometimes called a 'Qasbā'. The extent and area of a 'Parganā' is not defined under any Sultān. Ziā-ud-din Barani occasionally mentions 'Parganās' and Faujdārs, but no adequate evidence is forthcoming to enable us to consider these as representing sub-divisional organisations. Early in the next century, we hear of the 'Shiq' and the 'Sada'³ but to ascribe them inferentially to the Mamluk governmental arrangement would require more contemporary evidence than is at present available. However, 'Parganā' was an aggregate of a number of villages. It was the lowest fiscal administrative unit. It had a tahsildar⁴ in charge of the collection of revenue and it was here that the land revenue was actually paid by the peasants to the states. Ibn-Batuttā says "These people give the name of a 'Sadi' to the collection of a hundred villages."⁵ The Amir-i-Sadā, like the tahsildār of today had a large staff of subordinate officials in the tahsil who had a large staff of lower officials namely the 'Mushrif' who collected the revenue, the 'Kārkun' who could hardly have been employed in a non-technical sense. There were the clerks who kept the accounts. They kept the books both in Hindi⁶ and in Persian, so that the peasant and the state could know where they stood regarding their financial transactions.⁷ The 'Btahr',⁸ the 'Khut',⁹ the 'Muqqad-

¹ Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 436

² *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 480.

³ The Amir-i-Sada was something like a modern tahsildār.

⁴ Generally known as Mahāsil, the collector of revenue.

⁵ *Tuhfat-U'n-Nuzzar*—Vol II, Ibn-Batuttā, p. 78.

⁶ *Adbiyāt Men Hinduon-ka-Hissa*—Sayyid Abdulā, pp. 11-19.

⁷ *The Administration of the Sultānate of Delhi*—Qureshi, pp. 259.

⁸ Bahātiyā for Bhātiya.

⁹ The word 'Khot' is probably a corruption of the word 'Kuta' in Gramkuta, a village official mentioned in *Kautilya's Artha-Shāstra*.

'dam' and 'Chaudhary', who were selected in the traditional manner to represent the peasants, were consulted before the appointment was made. In many instances the post would be hereditary, but the idea of some kind of an election should not be dismissed entirely, for certain professional and caste brotherhoods elect their 'Chaudharis' even now. The 'Patwāri', the 'Sarhang' like the modern peons, served peasants or 'Muqaddams' with official orders or by summons¹ or by the 'Piyādās'.

We further read about the Qanūngō under Afghāns. This officer was the keeper of previous schedules of assessment. The 'Mushrif' was the inspector who actually saw the crops and determined the government share. It was his duty to adjudicate impartially the disputes between the state and the peasant. The 'Mahāsīl'² received the payment made in cash or kind by the peasant. A 'Gumāshtā'³ was an agent. Their posts and positions were graded, some being higher than the others. Each had his own special duties to perform, and all helped in their different capacities in the collection of land tax and other cesses and dues as well as in the maintenance of peace.

THE VILLAGE

The lowest unit was the village which had its own indigenous administration. There was in every village a 'Panchāyat' to settle disputes. The people of the village constituted a small commonwealth, which looked after their affairs and arranged for defence, watch, and elementary education and sanitation.

The system of administration was similar to that of the clan, only on a small scale. The allotment of land, the settlement of disputes, and other matters of village administration were dealt with by a committee of elders with an elected president. This committee consisted of the heads of the leading families, subject to the control of a public assembly of all the joint-body, for whose deliberations important administration and judicial acts were reserved. The committee met in a village-hall which was generally also a fort.⁴

The overlordship of the village was vested in the joint body of clansmen, and some kind of right was allowed to those of the older inhabitants who continued to cultivate the land. Though they were reduced to the status of tenants, and were compelled to reside apart on the outskirts of the village, yet both equity and policy forbade their ejection from the land they cultivated. Land in those days was plentiful, and cultivators were scarce and if treated too harshly they might have run away. The examples are

¹ *Ārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 288.

² Pl. of Mahsul Proceeds-Revenue, the collector of revenue.

³ A head clerk, an accountant.

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*—Vol. I, p. 474.

numerous to quote of such events which occurred during the period under our study. Such upheaval had occurred in 1343, when the peasants of the village of the provinces of Ghurhām, Sunām, Kaithal and Samānā had refused to pay the land tax to the State. They had entirely abandoned agriculture and deserted their villages. They had assembled in large camps in the jungles, where they indulged in such acts like highway robbery.¹ Likewise risings were very common throughout the Sultānate period.

The right of the man to the land which he had broken up for tillage was still recognized. While a clansman would cultivate it free, unless he had taken a share of the waste larger than that to which he was entitled, a non-clansman would pay to the joint body of clansmen a rent, which generally took the form of a share of the produce.² Normally they were not interfered with by the Sultāns. Every village had then, as now, a watchman and a revenue officer called Patwāri.³

The actual structure and the location of the villages depended on climate and other natural factors. In the Shivālik hilly area, the walls of the houses were built of wood from the forest, or of stone from the mountain side, and split-slabs of wood, or still better great rough-haven slates were used for roofs which saved the inmates against the deluging rain of the monsoon. Such buildings were grouped in small hamlets on the scattered terraces of cultivated land. In the plains area of a village was larger, and a village in exceptional cases might contain as many as four hundred houses, and a further increase in the number of families might lead to the establishment of several subsidiary hamlets. The houses were built of sundried mud bricks with flat roofs grouped together on the highest eminence. In the low lying fertile land near the rivers, streams and ponds, these dwellings formed a dry refuge for their inhabitants during the monsoon floods. As the flimsy houses fell down, others would be built over them, thus raising the village site higher and higher till it formed the most conspicuous land-mark in the boundless plain. At the present day the antiquity of a site of a village throughout the province may be roughly gauged by its height above the level plain surrounding it.⁴

B—ARMY ADMINISTRATION

At the time of the Turkish invasion of our country, the army system of our rulers was different, which the Sultāns had brought with them. Here each city in the Panjāb was walled round and conducted its defence by means of mercenary soldiers who lived

¹ *Rise and Fall of Muhanmad-bin-Tughluq*—Mahdi Husain, pp. 164-165.

² *The Indian Village Community*—Baden-Powell (1896) p. 434.

³ *Agrarian System of Moslem India*—Moreland, pp. 55-56, 81-103.

⁴ *The Indian Village Community*—Baden-Powell (1896), pp. 72-73.

Cambridge History of India—Vol. I, pp. 301-302.

in it and were noted for their bravery and fidelity to their employers. The infantry was variously armed, most of them with bows and some with javelins, but many carried sword and shield only. The soldiers were handicapped by inferiority of equipment. The cavalry mounted on short country-born ponies, while on the other hand the Muslim horsemen were superior not only in number, but immeasurably so in efficiency, the height and strength of their horses of the choicest Arab and Kābul breeds, and the armour protection of both rider and mount. Their cavalry always played a major part in deciding the issue in the initial cavalry encounter, and prevented any attempt at rear defence by the Panjāb army after their defeat.

The masses in the Panjāb were not combined into one common nation. Each small state had its own compact boundary; powerful resources and well integrated defence organisation being there wanting. These Hindū states were disunited by love of local independence and the practice of their ruling chiefs not to tolerate a Hindū overlord, and were torn by the jealous feud of clan against clan, caste against caste. Hence the military weakness of the sources of small units which chequered the political geography of the Panjāb. But on the other hand if in any year the invaders from the north-west were unexpectedly held up by the Panjāb defence, the Turks could easily call up reinforcements from their own State just across the border, or retire baffled to come back next autumn in renewed strength to make victory sure. Their line of communication with Central Asia, the breeding ground of their soldiers and horses, was kept unbroken behind them. Their provisions were carried by fast-running camels, which required no fodder for themselves but fed on the roots and leaves on the way-side, while the Banjārā pack-oxen of the Rājās of the Panjāb commissariat were slow and burdensome. The perfect social solidarity and equality of the faithful has always been the noblest gift of Islām.

As the Sultānate of Delhi was based primarily on force and not on the willing consent of the people, it had to maintain a much larger army than was necessary for the needs of an indigenous national state. Originally, the Muslim army was, perhaps, composed of every able bodied man who immigrated to the Panjāb, but there soon grew up the idea of a division of labour. As the Muslims gradually assumed the duties of civil government, a functional division of society took place and fighting became more or less a profession. During most of the period under our study, the army of the Sultānate consisted of four classes e.g. :

- (1) Regular soldiers permanently employed in the Sultān's service
- (2) Troops permanently employed in the service of the provincial government and nobles
- (3) Recruits employed in times of war and
- (4) Muslim volunteers enlisted for fighting what was called 'Jihād' or the holy war.¹

¹ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 102.

There was a ministry of war called 'Dewān-i-Āriz'.¹ At its head was the Āriz-i-Mumālīk,² who was responsible for the entire administration of military affairs. He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit.³ For the first time in the history of the Sultāns, Alā-ud-din Khilji laid the foundation of a standing army which was directly recruited, paid and officered by the Central Government. This institution of the Central army continued till the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Ferōze Tughluq converted the army into a feudal organisation. The Lodi army was organised on clanish basis and consisted of tribal hordes of the Lodis, the Qarmlis, the Lohānis, the Sūrs, and other Afghān tribes. The efficiency of the Muslim army during the reign of Alā-ud-din Khilji can be attributed to the strict discipline maintained among the rank and file and direct payment to the soldiers. The inefficiency of the army after Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was due to the lack of discipline among the rank and file on one hand and want of administrative and military skill in the Sultān on the other.

The provincial troops, being maintained out of the public revenue were technically a part of the standing army, but in a decentralised state like that of the Māmluks, authority over them was necessarily limited. In practice, the provincial army was the Governor's own, and the details of its maintenance were his own concern, and the Āriz-i-Mumālīk could exercise little interference. The latter's jurisdiction over them commenced only when the specified quota was called up from the province. He was then to hold a review of the contingents sent, to check their number and equipment by comparing the muster roll of the respective provinces and to call for explanations for any discrepancy from the representatives of the Governors for any department.

The provincial army, however, seems to have been modelled organizationally on the Sultān's regular troops. It also consisted of a permanent centre corps and of temporary recruits. The 'Āriz' looked after its maintenance and pay through the representatives stationed at the capital, presented the contingents.⁴

The main military force in the province under the governors was stationed in the forts and the major expenses on it were spent on the maintenance and preservation of forts. The forts were built almost on every strategic and key posts of the province. There was in those days a dire necessity of building a chain of forts to check the menace of the Mughals who were plundering the Panjab time and again, and to establish a strong defence of this frontier

¹ Muster of the soldiers.

² The War-Minister.

³ *Khazāin-ul-Fatuh*—Amir Khusrau, p. 50.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 60, 114, 170.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri-Minhāj-us-Siraj* p. 257.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani p. 116

province of the Sultānate of Delhi. The old forts were repaired and new ones were built such as Multān, Lāhore, Dipālpur, Bhatindā, Bhātner, Hānsi, Ghurhām, Sunām, Samānā, Jalandhar Mallot¹ and Sirhind. Special measures in this respect were taken during the reigns of Altutmish, Balban, Alā-ud-din Khilji and Ferōze Tughluq. A fort was generally surrounded by a moat; there was an outer wall and a keep; sometimes there were concentric outer walls and the area round the fort was planted with thorny thickets or stones fixed thickly and irregularly to prevent horsemen approaching with any speed. The fortress was traditionally provided with an under-ground passage or other secret means of escape. Ghāzi Khan, the son of Dāulat Khān Lodi had escaped through such an under-ground passage, when Bābar's forces had besieged in December, 1525 A. D., the fort of Mallot in which the father and the son had taken shelter. A great care was taken to keep those forts well stocked with provisions and efforts were made to avoid any disturbance in the normal life of the people.²

Reference to special recruits for temporary work is not frequent but recorded instances imply that such enrolment was an established practice. In 1241, when the Mughals besieged Lāhore, the Sadr-ul-Sadar,³ Minhāj-us-Sirāj, was directed by the Sultān to deliver an exhortation urging the people to enrol in the army for fighting the infidels.⁴ The Hindū mercenaries were also employed for special campaign as Raziā Sultānā had headed an army composed mainly of mercenaries from the Gakhars and Jat tribes of the Panjab, when she had marched with her husband Altuniā to recover the throne.⁵

The system of organization on a decimal persisted under the Ghaznavids, which ultimately was patronised by the later Sultāns of Delhi. According to it a 'Khān' had ten thousand horsemen or more, a 'Malik' had a thousand,⁶ and 'Amir', a hundred and a Sipāh Sālār had less. Barani has repeatedly mentioned 'Amirān-i-Panjab', 'Amirān-i-Sadā' and 'Amirān-i-hazārān. However, it appeared that in practice an 'Amir' commanded from fifty to a thousand soldiers and the minimum force under a 'Malik' was a

¹ Near Hariānā, in Hoshiārpur District.

² *Sirat-i-Feroze Shāhi*, p. 180

Tabqāt-i-Akbari-Vol. II, pp. 216-217, 416

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh-Vol. II, Ranking, p. 103

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*-Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 302

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*-Minhāj-us-Sirāj, pp. 195-310

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*-Vol. I, Text, p. 59

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri-Minhāj-us-Sirāj, pp. 191-192, 203

⁶ *Tammadun-ul-Islāmi*-Jarji Zayādān, p. 130,

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi-Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 14b

thousand soldiers.¹ Unattached soldiers were called 'mufrads'. Clerks were attached to each division for keeping the accounts and registers. There were other officers whose duty was to marshal the troops for review of battle.² Great attention was paid to the maintenance of discipline; every subordinate was expected to obey his superior promptly. Care was taken to prevent damage to cultivation or property even in a hostile country, unless a place was given up to plunder.³

Every town was protected by a fort,⁴ and the commander of the fort, called Kōtwāl, was the chief police-cum-military officer in the village and the town.⁵ The village or the town Kotwāls were answerable for their administration to the 'Parganā' Kotwāls under whom their towns and villages were located.

C—REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Muhammad-bin-Qāsim had employed the Hindūs as revenue officials and treated the Hindū chiefs with consideration. He had left them in possession of their territories on payment of tribute. These principles were to be the fundamentals of the Sultānate policy in the Panjāb.⁶ About three centuries later, the Ghaznavids established their rule in the Panjāb, the importance of which from the point of view of revenue administration has not been properly assessed. Qutub-ud-din Aibak consolidated his conquests by organising the administration. It is obvious that he could not spare much time in the midst of his campaigns to work out new schemes of revenue collection nor could he afford to make experiments. There is strong probability that Qutab-ud-din borrowed the indigenous institutions working at Lāhore and that he employed a number of experienced Hindu Officials.⁷

The early Muslim conquests had little effect on village tenures and ideas of land holding generally. Large number of Turks and Afghāns accompanied the armies of the invaders, but they were mostly the soldiers, and where they did settle here and there in agricultural villages, they seem to have adopted the habits of their neighbours, or observed their own purely tribal methods of dividing

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi-Ziā-ud-din Barani*, p. 445
History of India-Vol. III, E and D. pp. 576-577

² *Tārīkh-i-Dāudi-Abdullā*, F. 103 a

³ *Tughlaqnāmā-Amir Khusrau*, p. 92

Khazāin-ul-Fatuh-Amir Khusrau, p. 183

Fatwā-i-Johāngir-Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 180

⁴ The village or town forts were all made of mud, though some of the forts of the towns situated at the strategic localities were built of sundried bricks and stones.

⁵ *Tārīkh-i-Māsudi-Baihaqi*, pp. 5, 8, 288.

⁶ *Tāj-ul-Maāsir-Hassan Nizāmi*, F. 164a

⁷ *Agrarian System of the Hindūs-Ghoshal* (1930), pp. 53-54

The Agrarian System of Moslem India-Moreland, pp. 25-26

the lands occupied. As a general rule the Sultāns had little sympathy with the higher caste Hindū-communities or with Jat co-sharers, and they had, therefore, general tendency to degrade the superior right holders and to deal with the cultivator direct.¹ Such chiefships as had existed were levelled down, and all traces of their organisation disappeared from the land of the Five-Rivers. When any special village tenure was respected, it was because of some state grant or religious obligation, as in the case of Sayyid communities, the Muslim religious class, reputed descendants of the Prophet, or others which it was politic to preserve or countenance. The conquered land was at once allotted into villages, sections, and family holdings, so that the groups always regarded the whole area as theirs, and this formed virtually a family group over each village.² Most of the Muslim tenants, who adopted agriculture in the Panjāb were the camp followers, dependents and inferiors of various sorts.

The Sultāns of Delhi had inherited a large number of Hindū chiefs whose authority was embedded in hereditary tradition. But gradually the Sultāns reduced those chiefs to peaceful submission and reconciled them to the Sultānate. In the earlier days the realization of tribute and revenue was yield of an open military affair. As the native chiefs were reconciled or reduced, the Muslim civil office gained in power and authority and by the time of Alā-ud-din Khilji, the civil authorities possessed sufficient strength to enforce the Sultān's drastic reforms.³ The revenue officials, though under the immediate control of the Governors, were supervised by the ministry of finance at the Centre which received and examined regular and detailed statements regarding income and expenditure in every province. If a provincial Governor failed to satisfy the Revenue Minister's officers, he was harshly treated and handed over to torture till he restored the misappropriated amount.

For the purpose of collecting land revenue, a separate department worked under the supervision of the Revenue Minister and his assistants, the Nāib Vazīr, the 'Sharf Qai.' These two officials of the Central Government were directly responsible for the realization of the revenue from the provinces. Each provincial Governor had a staff of graded officials such as tahsildār, who had under him a large staff of subordinate officials namely the 'Mutshrif,' the 'Kārkun', the 'Balahar,' the 'Khut' the 'maqaddams the 'Chaudhri,' the 'Patwāri' the 'Sarhang' and the Piyāda.' They had a kind of revenue administrative machinery, which worked or continued to work in respect of the change in the personnel of the provincial and Central Governments. As a result the Governor was able at specify times

¹ *The Early History of India*—V.A. Smith, p.p. 300-301, 666

² *The Indian Village Community*—Baden Powell, pp. 217-218

The Land System of British India—Vol. I, Baden Powell, pp. 267-269

³ *The Agrarian System of the Hindus*—Ghoshal (1930), pp. 53-54

The Agrarian System of the Moslem India—Moreland, pp. 25-26

to receive the revenue of his province. Out of the total sum the Governor was authorized to spend as much as required for the government.¹

The specified revenue was remitted at intervals by the provincial Governors to the Central Government. When the remittance was duly made, the amount of the revenue received at the capital passed through and was examined and scrutinised successively by the 'Dewān-Ashraf'² the 'Dewān-i-Nazr'³ and the 'Dewān-i-Vizārate'.⁴ Each department forwarded the amount together with its own report, till it reached the Sultān, and then under his special orders it was sent to the 'Dewān-i-Khāzin who deposited it in the treasury.⁵

SAHIB-I-DEWAN : In every province there was a Sāhib-i-Dewān,⁷ who was popularly known as Khawaja, appointed by the Sultān on the recommendation of the revenue minister. He was generally an expert accountant, whose duty was to keep the account books and submit detailed statements to the headquarters. It was on the basis of these account books that the revenue minister's department settled the account with the Governor of a province. Officially the Sāhib-i-Dewān was subordinate to the Governor, but in actual practice, owing to his direct appointment by the Sultān and his contact with the revenue minister, he was more powerful than the Governor and his presence in the province as such was a great check on the Governor's authority. When Māsud had appointed Ahmad Niyāltigin to the governorship of Lāhore, the royal revenue minister, Ahmed Hasan, impressed upon the new Governor the importance of the Qāzi of Shirāz, who was the then Sāhib-i-Dewān of the Panjāb. Later, it was on the report of this subordinate officer that measures were taken to depose the Governor⁸.

The main items of revenue were four taxes allowed by the 'Shariat' (1) the tax on agricultural produce, called 'Kharāj' and 'Usher' (2) Poll tax on the 'zimis' called jazia (3) one fifth of the booty captured in battle from the captives called 'Khums' and (4) income tax on the Muslims, called 'Zakāt.' The last item, although

¹ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 501.
Ibn-Batuttā—Vol. III, Def-et-Sang, p. 388.

² Audit Department.

³ Inspecting Department.

⁴ Revenue Ministry.

⁵ The Imperial Exchequer or the treasury department.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 288.

⁷ Book Keeping e.g. Sāhib-i-Muster and Dewān Book or an officer.

⁸ *Baihaqi*, pp. 496-498.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 38.

Tārikh-i-Yamini—Utbi-Text, p. 255.

collected by the state, could be spent only on certain specified items.¹

In the land revenue, the distinction between 'Kharāj' and 'Usher' could not be maintained, when non-Muslims began to accept Islām in large numbers and were allowed to retain their lands so that at an early date in the history of Islām, the Kharāj had come to be applied both on Muslim holders. Aibak, on his accession, was reported to have reintroduced the distinction between 'Kharāj' and 'Usher.' On the property of the Muslim citizen of Lāhore he fixed the tax at one tenth and in some cases even one twentieth instead of the existing one fifth, which was considered illegal.² Later instances, however, do not prove its continued application. Subsequently the schedule of rates laid down by the Muslim lawyers, was not always adhered to as is evident from Balban's advice to Bughrā Khān. "To adopt the middle course in exacting Kharāj from the subjects and not to take too much or too little from them."³

Obviously, expediency was the sole criterion. Alā-ud-din Khilji's reforms in the matter of land revenue with a view to forestalling rebellions and filling his treasury by fixing the state demand at one half of the gross produce, were well known. This Kharāj was collected by the revenue minister directly from the peasants only in the Khālisa lands.⁴ But in the Panjāb the Governor's revenue department which was under the Sāhib-i-Dewān as stated elsewhere, supervised the collection and rendered an account together with the surplus to the Central Exchequer. With this revenue should also be classed the amount realised as tribute from the vassal rulers, which was in reality only a composition for the Kharāj realised from the peasants of the state concerned.⁵

For the purpose of fiscal administration there existed five kinds of land (i) Khālisa territory (ii) Land divided into iqtās and held by the Governors either for number of years or for life time (iii) The principalities of the Hindū chiefs who had come to terms with the Sultāns and (iv) The land given away on terms with the Sultān (v) The land given away to the Muslim scholars and

- 1 *Kitāb-ul-Kharāj and Usher*—Abu Yusaf, p. 350.
Muslim Theory of Finance—Aghnides, pp. 362, 425.
When the Kings Rode to Delhi—Festing, p. 107.
Report on the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee—Vol. I, p. 107.
- 2 *Muhammadan Jurisprudence*—Rahim, p. 385.
Encyclopaedia of Islām Article on Kharāj.
Tārikh-i-Fakhar-ud-din—Mubārak Shāh (Ross), pp. 33-34.
- 3 *Tārikh-i-Feroz Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din, Barani, pp. 100-194.
- 4 *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*—Hāssan Nizāmi, F. 469, 253.
Ijāz-i-Khusravi—Amir Khusrau, F. 416a.
- 5 Land reserved for the State as opposed to land assigned or granted to individuals.

saints in gift, such as 'Milk'¹ or 'inām'² or 'waqaf.' The Khālisa land was directly administered by the Central Government. But the state dealt with local revenue officers like 'Chaudharis' and 'Maqaddams' and not with individual peasants.³

As regards the fate of the peasants under the period of our study and their ties with the land, it is stated that the land paying 'Kharāj' or 'Usher' was the property of the tax payer, and he was allowed to sell the land under his possession. The right of sale and purchase was recognised in the Sultānate, for there are references in *Fiqā-i-Ferōze Shāhi* and other law books, during the period of the transfer of land by the sale from one tax payer to another.⁴ But generally it was accepted that the relations between the state and the peasantry were governed by the conception that the cultivator had only duties and no rights. Even then there was a genuine competition for peasants who would bring more land under cultivation.⁵

D—JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

According to the ancient political idea, which both the Hindus and the Muslims accepted, the sovereign was the fountain of justice, and it was his duty to try cases personally in open court. Sultāns like Altutmish, Balban, Alā-ud-din Khilji and Muhammad Tughluq followed this ideal and personally administered justice in open courts. The Sultān as the chief enforcer of law and head of the state exercised these functions which touched the administration of justice in several respects. When called upon to decide religious cases, the Sultāns were assisted by the Sadr-ul-Sadr⁶ and the 'Muqti' but in secular cases they had the assistance of the Chief Qāzi. Throughout the period under our study, these two offices, namely, those of the Chief-Sadr and the Chief Qāzi had one and the same person as their incumbent. This person sat with the Sultān in two capacities as Chief Sadr in religious cases, and Chief Qāzi in secular cases.⁷

For the efficiency and the smooth running of this department, it was considered necessary to have a 'Qāzi' in every town.⁸ It was the duty of the Governor and the other provincial officials to help the Qāzi in maintaining the dignity of the law and to cooperate with him in bringing wrong doers to the book.⁹ The 'Qāzis' of the

¹ A grant for subsistence, resumable at pleasure.

² A reward commonly a grant of revenue made to high officer as a supplement to his assignment.

³ *Early Medieval India*—A.B. Pandey, pp. 228-229.

⁴ *Fiqā-Feroze Shāhi*—Muzaffar Kirmāni, FF. 410a, 411b, 414b.

⁵ *Siyāsatnāmā*—Abu Ali Hassan-Schaffer, p. 18.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 288-291.

⁶ The Chief Justice.

⁷ *Khazāin-ül-Futuh*—Amir Khusrau, p. 7.

⁸ *Tabqāt-i-Nāstri*—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 117.

⁹ *Siyāsatnāmā*—Abu Ali Hassan-Schaffer, p. 38.

provinces were directly appointed by the Centre and were completely independent of the Governors. They were to decide the cases under their purview such as the supervision and management of the property of orphans and lunatics, the execution of testamentary dispositions and the supervision of endowments, the maintenance and prevention of encroachments on public thoroughfares or open spaces, in accordance with equity and reason depending on analogy. Compromise of cases was permitted by the Qāzi, provided it did not violate the law. All Muslims were reliable witnesses except those convicted of serious offences of perjury or suspected of partiality.¹ The cases regarding land revenue were heard by the Sāhib-i-Dewān and such cases did not fall under the jurisdiction of Qāzis. Justice was administered quickly and promptly. There were no pleaders or lawyers in those days and the judges mostly worked upon the doctrine of private judgment after considering the statements of the witnesses.

The Kotwal

The town or city was an administrative unit as stated above, under the charge of the Kōtwāl (the muhtasib or the Amir) who exercised many powers. He held command of the fortress, which in those days was an essential part of a city, and was responsible for the welfare of its inhabitants. He was regarded as the defender of public morale; and the protector of the rights and privileges of the weak against the strong. It was his duty to see that no body drunk in public that the Muslim prayers were conducted properly, and that gambling, illegal marriages and acts of indecency were stopped. The difference between the function of the Qāzi and the Kōtwāl was that the latter possessed spontaneous power of intervention, where as the Qāzi could not act unless litigants appealed to him. There is no clear classification of cases which came under the authority of the Qāzi and the Kōtwāl, but from the known cases it is quite easy to comprehend that the secular type of criminal suits went to the 'Kōtwāl' and the religious cases such as inheritance, marriage, divorce and civil disputes, went to the Qāzi's court. The Kōtwāl was an executive officer and the Qāzi, a judge.²

The Sultāns did not interfere in the judicial set up in towns and rural areas, which in those days comprised ninety five per cent of the population, and appointed judicial officers of its own to administer justice. These villages were self sufficient commonwealths and had their panchāyats, since time immemorial, which not only decided all their disputes but also enforced their decisions. The people, therefore, were happy to be left undisturbed by their

¹ *Tamaddun-ul-Islāmi*—Jurji Zaydān, pp. 185-187.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, pp 238-239.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 211-212.

Khazain-ul-Futuh—Amir Khusrau, p. 18.

foreign masters, whose rule over the villages existed only for the collection of revenue.

During the Sultānate period the penal law was very severe. Culprits were usually punished with mutilation and death. The usual practice was to make use of force and torture to extort confession from the convicts. Although the government followed the policy of minimum interference with the social affairs of the Hindūs and applied what was designed as the 'Ghairshari'¹ law in deciding their cases, yet grave injustice must have been the result, as in those days there were no pleaders to place the complainant's point of view before the 'Qāzi.' The criminal code was severe and the punishments were deterrent. Sometimes in cases of rebellions the criminals were paraded in the city. A rebel's life and property were at the mercy of the Sultān ; as this was well known, a rebel took the risk with his eyes open.

Police : During the period of our study, there was no distinction between the army and the police such as we have it today. The army, stationed in the fortresses and cantonments throughout the Panjāb, also performed the duties of the police. The cantonments were greater in number in the north and west of the Panjāb than in the east due to the repeated fear of the Mughal invasions from the north west of India. The routine duties of the police department were performed by the 'Muhtasib'² who later began to be popularly know by the name of the Kōtwāl.³ In towns, the police work was the responsibility of the Kōtwāl who maintained law and order and even helped in military defence. Originally he was a military officer, the commandant of the fortified town, but with the expansion of civil administration he gradually became mainly a police officer.

There were no police in the villages and even in the small towns. There were also no well constituted prison houses. Old forts and castles were utilised as prisons.

¹ Uncodified.

² Muhtasib-Censor of the Public Morals.

³ *Tārikh-i-Dāudi*—Abdullā, FF. 24a, 63b.

Tāj-ul-Maāsir—Hassan Nizāmi, FF. 80b, 84b, 149a, 157b.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barami, pp. 135-136.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC LIFE

During the period under review, the Panjāb remained a rich and prosperous province. In spite of constant fighting on her soil, the peasants and traders suffered little inconvenience, and this led to increasing prosperity in the land. The village community was a working institution in full vigour, and determined the economic outlook of the population of the Panjāb. Its leading economic feature was production mainly for purposes of local consumption. Industries, on a large scale were carried on in a few localized areas which were situated in the close vicinity of an area where raw material was available in sufficient quantities to feed them.

AGRICULTURE

Was the mainstay of the people of the province. Excluding the Himālayān region and other hilly tracts, and the ravines of Rāwalpindi, Attock and Jhelum districts, the vast alluvial plain was broken only by the wide valleys of its rivers. The soil of this province was a sandy loam, interspersed with patches of clay and tracts of pure sand. The soil of the Himālayān and lower ranges resembled those of the plains, but both sand and the clay were rare and the stony area was considerable. The Sultāns were the royal owners of the land in practice, and, they demanded from the peasant a share of his produce. The peasant had unfailing devotion to agriculture, but the Sultāns felt entitled to eject him if he neglected his duty.¹ The Muslim was merely a tax-receiver and took little part in the production and increase of the country's agricultural wealth. We find very few recorded instances of Muslim cultivators. One is mentioned in the story by Shaikh Jamālī of a poor disciple of Bahā-ud-din Zakariā who tilled a small plot near Lāhore, and who unable to pay the revenue, had to compound for it by performing a miracle.²

The vastness of land had made life easy and inexpensive. Rainfall in the Panjāb was tolerably abundant.³ Artificial means of irrigation were not unknown. In the low hills furrowed by many torrent beds, which for the most part have water only during the short rainy season, there were well-established customs of sharing the water, by means of system of channels and temporary dams, whereby the water was led on to certain groups of terraced fields. The customary rules provided that each dam must be removed after a certain number of hours; or that it could only be

¹ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 430, p. 574.

² *Sair-ul-Arfīn*, p. 17.

³ *Bābarnāma*—Vol. II, Beveridge, 519.

raised to a certain height, so that when the flood reached that level the surplus water might pass on to the field, of another right-holder. Consequently the size of the Panjab village of this period was largely determined by the number of fields to which the available water supply could reach. But there was no safeguard against the vagaries of nature. Droughts brought collapse in the peasants economy as they depended almost entirely on nature and its seasonal cycle. The vagaries of nature, on the one hand, made him a worshipper of gods of nature like the sun, the clouds, the rain etc.

Crops : The principal of the Panjāb in spring were wheat, grams and barley. Wheat was the staple crop. The principal autumn crops were maize, great millet (Jowār) spiked millet (Bājra) and rice. Cotton, oilseeds, hemp, spices and sugarcane were other crops, which were grown by the peasants.

Unfortunately there was no incentive to increase production. The produce sufficed for the then existing population. Taimūr's invasion wrought a break down in the revenue administration. In the early part of the fifteenth century no agrarian measures seem to have been instituted or still less, enforced.¹ Each Muslim 'iqṭādār' or Hindū chief collected the revenue of his estate; as much as he chose.² The law and order situation improved in the later half of the fifteenth century. During the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi, corn, cloth and other things were cheaper than they had been at any other time, excepting the closing years of Alā-ud-din Khilji's reign. Ten maunds of corn, five seers of 'ghi' and ten yards of cloth could be purchased for a single Bahloli.³ Thus, food, the chief necessity of life, was cheap and abundant. There being no urge for more production, no attempt was made to improve agricultural implements and they remained the same over the centuries.

This was well understood that the state regarded the peasant as the treasure house of community. A peasant was a valuable asset and unless he decided to choose some urban calling, the feudatory prince or the paramount ruler would endeavour to keep him to his profession. However, the idea of digging canals and providing irrigation facilities was the outcome of the anxiety of the Sultāns to improve agriculture in their dominions. Larger areas were brought under cultivation, and better quality crops were grown so as to produce more revenue. Balban is credited with the improvement of agriculture even when he was an ordinary noble. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq was noted for his interest in the cultivators,⁴ but it is generally believed that the first monarch to constitute a ministry for this purpose was Muhammad-bin-Tughluq who named the new department as 'Dewān-i-

¹ *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*—Moreland, pp. 60-67.

² *Ibid.* Op. cit. p. 67.

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 281.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 574.

Amir-i-Kuhi.¹ Its function was to bring new areas under cultivation and to improve the existing crops.

Agricultural methods evolved slowly, gradually adapting themselves to the circumstances of each locality. The old bent tree bough drawn by oxen gradually developed into a plough with smoothed handles which cut up the soil with a tapering triangular spike of hard wood, the base of the triangle being upper-most. This spike was transfixed at right angles by a long pole to which the oxen were harnessed. This plough was excellent for the purposes for which a harrow is now commonly used, stirring the soil and breaking it up; but it was not very effective in cutting the top layer of soil, and did not entirely invert all the soil it loosened. This plough was originally made entirely of wood, but with the development of the art of hammering the soft and excellent iron which abounded in the Himālayas, an iron cap was affixed to the point of the spike which dug the furrow.² The ox was the most important draught animal for ploughing and treading out the corn; and oxen could always be obtained cheaply and easily from the nomad grazers of the Central Panjāb.³

The Panjāb did not experience an agricultural revolution during the Sultānate period such as we find remarkable changes in other countries coincided with the adoption of a policy of enclosure, or some more improvements. Though there were some changes or some improvements wrought from time to time by the Sultāns, yet they have not sufficed to transform the system as a whole; the plough and the ox, the millets, the wheat and rice, the pulses and oilseeds, and the whole tradition of the country side linked us with the sixteenth century. The system of irrigation, of the crops, the implements used for agriculture, the methods of growing crops and the relations of the rulers and the peasants were the same throughout the Sultānate period, as Bābar has aptly described in his Memoirs.

The early Muslim conquests had little effect on village tenures and ideas of land holding generally. Large number of Turks accompanied the armies of the invaders and founded Afghān colonies, which existed in the Panjāb till the partition of the province in 1947. They were mainly soldiers, who had settled here and there in agricultural villages, and they seem to have adopted the habits of their neighbours, or observed their own purely tribal methods of dividing the lands occupied. They lost most of their special Turkish characteristics, and there was then generally little

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud din Barani, p. 281.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 177.

² *The Indian Village Community*—B.H. Baden Powell, p. 189.

A Text Book of Panjāb Agriculture—Roberts, pp. 15-17.

³ *India at the Death of Akbar*—Moreland, p. 106.

to distinguish their villages from the settlements of other adventurous or conquering tribesmen.

As a general rule the Sultāns had little sympathy with the higher caste Hindū communities or with Zamindārs, and they had therefore a general tendency to degrade the superior right holders and to deal with the cultivators.¹ It was in this way that the Rājput kingdoms or the Hindū peasant nobilities as had existed were levelled down, and all traces of their organisations disappeared from the Panjāb. The conquered land was at once allotted to villages, sections, and family holdings so that the groups always regarded the whole area as their own and thus formed virtually a family group over each village. Most of the tribes brought with them camp followers, dependents and inferiors of various sorts who became tenants, in some cases with special privileges.²

The necessity and demand for irrigation in the Panjāb varied with the climatic and physical conditions. Speaking generally, the necessity for perennial irrigation varied inversely with the amount of the rainfall, being, therefore, the greatest in the south-west and the least in the north-east submontane tracts. The wells were the chief means of irrigation which were in use in various indigenous kinds of lift and the area in which each kind could be used was determined by the depth of the spring-level. The dry climate of the Panjāb offered inducements to irrigation wherever feasible. In the uplands the rivers and the wells, which were necessary to give water to man and the beast, could also be used to irrigate a small oasis of wheat. In the riverain areas, where well-water was near the surface, irrigation was easier and more profitable. The normal method of raising well-water for irrigation purposes was by means of oxen, walking down an inclined plane and so drawing up a leather bucket ('charas' or 'bōkā') from the well. But the Persian wheel, with its endless series of little earthen pots dipping at one into the water, was applied widely during the period under our study to the lifting of water from a river or a stream, and the application of this principle to the raising of well water must have been only a question of time; though its name indicated that its general introduction into the Western and the Central Panjāb came with the Muslim invasion. In the hilly tracts of the north-west, the south-east and south-west, the water which occasionally, after a burst of rain rushed down in torrents was retained by embankments "bands" and spread over the fields as required. In the hilly districts, water from the stream could be led by means of counter channels along the hill side till a point was reached whence it would be discharged on some cultivated area.

The Canalisation : Ferōze Tughluq was the real founder of the canal system in the Panjāb. He not only improved the means

¹ *The Indian village Community*-Baden Powell, pp. 217-218, 322, 425.

² *Ibid*

The Land System of British India-Vol. I, Baden Powell, pp. 139-140

Ibid. Vol. II, pp 634, 666-667.

to encourage the agriculturists, but was also the author of the schemes of irrigation, and traces of his canals yet remain. "The most important and abiding contribution of Ferōze Shāh, however, was the policy of opening canals and irrigating those parts of the eastern Panjāb where cultivation was not possible for want of water. A tract of land covering at least one hundred and sixty miles was benefited by his two canals, Rājiva and Alagha Khāni."¹

In 1354, Ferōze Tughluq visited Dipālpur. He directed the public department under the Governor of Dipālpur to dig a canal from the Satluj to Jhajjar.² The canal ran over a distance of forty eight Kōs.³ Thus the arid area lying between Dipālpur and Jhajjar began to be cultivated, with the result that the agriculturists who were abandoning even their ancestral lands began to stick and produce more. The fertility of the lands was much increased and so the output.

The second canal project was initiated by the Sultān in 1356, when he founded Hissār, generally known as Hissār-i-Ferōzā on the site of two villages, Larās-i-Buzurg and Larās-i-Khurd. The neighbourhood of Hissār was arid. To make the town and the area prosperous, he ordered supply of water by two canals, one from the Jamuna in the neighbourhood of Karnāl, and the other from the Satluj near the point at which it emerges from the Shivālik hills, i. e. from the neighbourhood of Mandavi and Sirmūr hills, and taking the water of seven other small tributary local streamlets it passed through Hānsi and reached Arsan where stood the foot of Hissār-i-Ferōzā.⁴

Another canal was cut from the Ghaggar which passed through the town of Sarusati, and came up to the village of Harni-Kherā where the town of Hissār-i-Ferōzā was built.⁵

The water of the canals enabled the cultivators to produce the finest of commodities such as wheat and sugar-cane, whereas, in these arid areas, the crops did not grow at all or were confined to articles of inferior quality. Large tracts of waste land were brought under cultivation and the nomadic tribesmen who used to pass their days in wandering about the country in search of food

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*-Shanis Sirāj Afif, p. 127.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi-Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 567-571

² 35 miles west of Delhi, Jhajjar was formerly the capital of native state of the same name, founded in 1193, during the reign of Muhammad of Ghor.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*-Vol. I. Briggs, p. 450 (one Kos is of about two miles Steingass, p. 1025).

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*-Ziā-ud-din Barani, Text, p. 486.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā-Vol. I. Text, p. 146.

⁵ *Barani's History of the Tughluqs*—S.M. Haq, p. 100.

and fodder could now settle down and take to the peaceful profession of agriculture.¹

Another canal was cut at Sirhind. Ferōze Tughluq was passing through Sirhind in 1351 on his way to Kāngrā, when he had observed the possibility of having dug a canal to connect the waters of the Sarusti with that of Mārkaṇḍā, which rises near Nāhan in Sirmūr hills and flows past Shāhbād.² The two streams were divided by high ground and the canal was completed by the labour of fifty thousand workmen. That canal is now said to be the Cho- (seasonal torrent) which flows past Shāhbād. Previously Sirhind was under the supremacy of the chief of Samānā, but Ferōze Tughluq separated it then and gave it to Malik ziā-ul-Mulk.³

INDUSTRY

There were many important industries in the rural as well as in the urban areas during the Sultānate period. Centuries before the advent of the Muslims the Panjāb was industrially well organised. There were guilds and crafts in the villages and in towns which carried on widespread commerce. In spite of the absence of the state patronage, these industrial institutions survived the shocks of foreign invasions and internal revolutions. There were two kinds of industries; those that were under the State patronage and those that were purely private.

The various needs of the Sultāns and the nobility set up State manufacturing establishments. A big institution like the imperial household naturally required a large commissariat department, this was divided into departments called 'Kārkhānās.' Their number may have varied under the Sultāns. Under Ferōze Shāh it was thirty six, further divided into two classes 'rātibi' and 'ghair 'rātibi'. Any 'kārkhānā' which dealt in perishable goods came under the first classification. For instance, 'Kārkhānās' which provided food and fodder for the stables, the kenels and the pitchers, were 'rātibi'. The 'ghair rātibi' Kārkhānās supplied clothes, uniforms, furniture, tents and the like.⁴ The real impetus towards the industrial progress started in the fourteenth century.⁵ The builder and stone cutter, the tent maker and the saddler, the perfumer and the oil man, the upholsterer and cloth maker, the metal worker and armourer, all were in great demand. Industry of this period found ready buyers and the city markets never had a dull moment.⁶ Producers or the

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*-Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 452-454.

² 13 miles south of Ambālā. in Karnāl District on the Grand Trunk Road to Delhi.

³ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*-Vol. I, Text, p 147.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*-Shams Sirāj, Afif, pp. 337-340.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi-Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 50, 109.

⁵ *History of India*-Vol. III, E and D. p. 578.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*-Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 100, 574.

artisans were mainly the Hindūs, but a small percentage came from the lower class Muslims mostly Indian converts.

The wealth looted by the Sultāns, deposited in the Hindu temples and in the treasures of the Hindū kings, for centuries, was released into the market by Muslim rulers and spent recklessly for the instalations of manufacturing centres all over the Panjāb and they liberally encouraged the industry.¹ Although in the fifteenth century we do not hear of the workshops of the days of Ferōze Shāh Tughluq, who was one of the great patronisers of the Sultānate of Delhi, yet absence of their mention does not necessarily point out to their disappearance.

As regards the manufactures, even the towns depended for most of their supplies on the country surrounding them. The preparation of flour and meal was in general a purely domestic undertaking. Sugarcane was mainly worked up into the crude form known as 'gur' in village presses and furnaces of the type still prevalent in the Panjāb. Oil pressing and cotton ginning were carried on by the primitive methods still to be seen in the villages. Spirits were widely distilled from sugar by primitive methods, in spite of restricted edicts issued by the Sultāns. Forests and jungles were more prevalent then than in the Mughal times to come, and consequently villagers generally had a better supply of firewood and timber. Iron and copper continued to be worked in the Shivālik hills. Salt was mined in the Salt Range. The salt was taxed by the Sultāns like every thing else. Hindi-crafts were generally characterised by variety and skill rather than economic importance. Many of the craftsmen who catered for the tastes of the ruling classes at Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Śamānā, Sunām, Sirhind, Jallandhar and Bajwārā showed skill in industry, but the volume of production was not great, and a large part of the value of their products was due to the cost of material rather than the process applied.

Building as an industry was relatively unimportant. The lower classes continued to live in mud houses, and though the upper classes occasionally spent vast sums on the forts, mosques and tombs which were allowed to fall into ruins by their successors, they lived for the most part in tents than in palaces. Textiles industries were more important. Silk stuffs were widely worn by the upper classes, and the fashion of those times prescribed an extensive wardrobe for anyone who desired to move into good society. Silk weaving was carried on at Samānā, Sunām, Ghurhām Sirhind, Dipālpur, Jallandhar, Lāhore and Multān.²

¹ *History of India*—Vol. III, E & D, p. 578.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 119-120.

² *Bābarnāmā*—Vol, II, Beveridge pp. 518-520

Tārikh-i-Dāudi (History of the Afghans—Ray) pp. 121-122
J.R.A.S. (1895), pp. 531-532.

The means of communications : The means of communications were very poor during the period under our study and the means of storing grains were primitive and very scanty. A succession of poor harvest meant always a famine. The Panjāb contained two main tracts which were not secure against drought ; one in the south-east comprising most of the plain districts of Rōhtak, Hissar, Karnāl, Bhatindā, Mohindergarh, Ferōzepur, Gujarāt, Jhelum and Rāwalpindi. The north-west of Gurdāspur and the tehsils of Sharakpur and Ajnālā were also insecure. Not only the failure of the rains caused famines in the Panjāb, the famines spread like wild fire when the population was decimated by plague, flood or any other calamity. The famines were very severe, especially whenever there was disorder and the food was so unobtainable that men and women were driven by hunger to eat human flesh. The sale of children into slavery marked the first stage of such a famine, cannibalism its climax. Inferior communications rendered the cost of transporting grain from long distances, and the famine of one place got little relief from the surplus food of the other. Moreover, grain or other commodities of ration in transport were always liable to be intercepted by Sultān's armies which were continually marching to fight an enemy or subdue a rebel.

The horrors of famine were followed by those of the pestilences which carried off the weakened population in thousands. It happened at the time of Amir Taimūr's invasion, when thousands of people died for want of food in the Panjāb'. For the first time, the Muslim administration was seriously called upon to deal with famines which periodically reoccurred in the country. The methods adopted to mitigate the hardships and the results achieved, are as interesting as instructive. The first measure was to give loans¹ to the impoverished peasantry to provide them with the elementary means of production.² The economic life of a village, a town or a district when once broken up by migration, disease, and death, could not quickly be renewed, and no constructive measure of relief was undertaken to accelerate the process.³

TRADE

The government of the Sultānate earned much income from tax on traders and shopkeepers and also from transit duty on mercantile commodities. Trade both internal and external, carried on by the people of the Panjāb, was enormous. The route through Kābul had become a great commercial centre, a meeting place for merchants from the Panjāb, Irān and the countries to the north, and a depot for goods entering the Panjāb via the Khāibar Pass, and thence to Lāhore. The traffic with Irān which had been opened

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 482.

² *Fiqā-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 414-416.

³ *Industry and Trade*—E. M. Marshall, p. 681.

The Village Communities in the East and the West—H. S. Maine, pp. 195-196

by the Arab conquests continued to flow via Multān and Qandhār. Both these routes carried a considerable volume of merchandise.¹ Conveyance was effected by means of pack animals. The Muntāni Banjārās² carried on business of conveying agricultural and other produce from one part of the country to another on a very extensive scale. Their migratory habits, their large stock of bullocks and bullock-carts and wagons and pack horses, and their intimate knowledge of the roads of the country, specially fitted them for their task. The roads were not fit for vehicles, the danger of theft and violence was usually too great to permit of the passage of small or unprotected convoys. Merchants were, therefore, accustomed to wait at recognised starting points until a sufficient number had gathered to form an effective caravan which could be able to resist attack, and they might have to wait for a considerable time. Trade between Western-China and India also followed a route through the Panjāb and Kashmir.

Internal trade routes by rivers and roads and trade centres remained much as in the Hindū times, though the increased centralisation which characterised the Muslims and particularly the Sultāns, gave an enhanced impetus on the imperial capital at Delhi and the provincial capitals such as Multān, Lāhore, Jallandhar, Dipālpur, Sirbind, Samānā and Sunām. Delhi and these provincial capitals were great disbursing centres, and population from a quarter to half a million was collected there to minister to the wants of the provincial governors or the Sultāns.

The Panjāb exported agricultural goods, textile manufactures, both cotton and silk, and some other things, such as tutenag, opium, indigo etc. Her chief imports from the neighbouring countries such as Arabiā, Irān, Bhutān, Tibet, Afghānistān, Balakh, Syriā, Europe and Western-China were horses, mules articles of luxury for the royal families and for other families of the nobles, both the Muslim and the Hindūs. Though we do not get any evidence of regular slave markets from the Muslim chroniclers, like other Islamic countries, yet the human-merchandise was recognised as means of making money and was even used as a side business by the members of the religious heads of the Muslim community. A highly profitable trade was money lending, confined almost exclusively to Hindūs, whose mounting rate of interest, enforced by the Governors and the nobles enabled them to impoverish the profligate nobles. Amir Hassan has mentioned that in Sultān Bahrām's reign the Muslim traders from Lāhore went on journeying to do business with the Hindūs of Gujarat and making huge profits. The value of the exports was much greater than that of the imports, and the balance of trade was always in her favour.³

¹ *The Oxford History of India*—V. Smith (1923), pp. 243, 247, 344, 362, 371-372.

² The traders of Multān.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Baranī, pp. 120, 100, 573. *History of India*—Vol. III, E&D, p. 578.

The army department had no commissariat service and was dependent for provisions on the grain merchants who accompanied the campaigning force, and the supply was made by the roving Banjārās (merchants) on mules, in places wherever the supplies were needed by the campaigning army. There were large number of Banjārās, whose trade it was to transport corn from one place to another. These men were encouraged by attractive prices to bring provisions for a moving army.¹ Big merchants otherwise moved only in large convoys to meet the demand of the people. Transport between cities and within the city was provided by coolies, horses, bullock carts and 'dola' (litter) or 'doli'. In the fifteenth century 'Ekkā' and 'Tāngā' were also used, but for long journeys the horse was the common conveyance. A large² number of people were engaged on conveyance and their trade was brisk, and they lived happily.³

But the greatest obstacle to the trade was the lack of security. Robbers were to be expected in hilly and wooded country, but they might be met with at any time in the open plains and the road watchmen were by no means to be trusted without reserve. The better class highway-men might be content with buying black-mail, and the transit duties levied by the local governors of this province came in much the same category. Such charges varied widely, and in spite of the repeated prohibitions of the Sultāns were generally only limited in amount by the danger of driving the profitable trade off the route entirely.

COMMERCE

We have no definite records about the progress of commerce in the Panjāb during the Sultānate of Delhi. To what extent and what commerce and trade were fostered or the regime affected the Panjāb's economy, during the reigns of the early Sultāns, are questions, the answer of which must necessarily contain a fair amount of conjecture. We hear from the accounts of the contemporary Muslim writers about the merchants dealing in horses, slaves and in clothes, big importers and exporters, who appear to have nearly always been Irānian and Arabian Muslims.⁴ The Turks also dealt in horses imported from southern Turkistān and had been familiar figure in the Hindū mercantile world. The Sultānate state had no seaport and the sea borne trade, filtering through the markets of Multān, Dipālpur, Lāhore, Jallandhar and Sirhind, would touch only indirectly the land locked kingdom's economic life. commerce during the Sultānate period was not properly regulated.⁵

¹ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 304.

² *Tārikh-i-Feroz Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 216.

Rehlā of Ibn-Battutā—Mehdi Husain, p. 151.

Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghanā—A. Yādgār, pp. 24, 33, 45.

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Shams Sirāj, Afif, p. 136.

⁴ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhaj-us-Sirāj, pp. 138, 159, 167-173.

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, B. De., p. 154.

After the Mamluk period, commerce had improved little. During the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, exports from India included pearls, jewels and perfumery, elephants tusks, ebony and 'ud' camphor clove, nutmeg and sandal wood. Cloth, cotton and brocade also had good market outside.¹

Any business which succeeded in prospering, in spite of regular imports, was liable to special taxation, and such taxation might be enforced by whipping or even more violent coercive processes. The wealth could only be accumulated by those who were willing to forego most of its advantages and all of its display, and a class of parsimonious misers was then developed, whose astuteness was shown in their capacity to gauge the personal credit of those to whom they made advances. But the general insecurity generated a gambling spirit, and, then as now, economic causes produced a more than proportionate reaction. Success in commercial ventures produced undue elation, and failure undue depression. The general insecurity under the Sultānate stimulated the habit of hoarding, which had prevailed from time immemorial among all classes and resulted in a large portion of the surplus capital of the country being buried under ground. These accumulated hoards had been largely depleted by the Sultāns and the Mughal invasions, with a resulting scarcity of gold silver and lowness of prices during this period, the fluctuation that took place being accounted for by temporary or local alternation in demand or supply. The evil effects of a debased currency had been illustrated by the expedient adopted by Muhammad Tughluq to rehabilitate his disordered finances.²

¹ *Islāmic Culture*—Vol. II, (1933), pp. 292-293.
J.A.S.B. XXI, p. 261.

² *The Panjab Administrative Report*—(1922), pp. 277-279.
The Oxford History of India—V Smith, pp. 375, 423.
The Village Communities in the East and West—H.S. Maine, pp. 118-119.

CHAPTER—X

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

1. THE PEOPLE

The Hindū society in the Panjāb presented a sorry spectacle on the eve of the Turkish invasion. The social structure of the Hindū society, as in other parts of the country consisted of four primary castes :—the Brahmans, the Kashtriyās, the Vāishyās and the Sudrās, with diminishing rank and status an indefinite number of the so-called mixed castes coming at the bottom of the scale. This principle of caste formed the basis of the social system of this province during the period under our study. Whatever the circumstances under which the system originated, it had resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of citizenship or of loyalty to the country as a whole. The demoralization that it had brought in its wake, both from the individual and the community points of view, was terrible in its proportions. The principle of caste is the negation of the dignity of man as a man.¹

The Brahmans were the supreme among the four classes. It was always expected of them that from sunrise to sunset they should not remain idle for an instant, and that they should devote themselves to their compulsory, occasional and optional duties as well as other blameless occupations.² They were expected to take up trade and crafts, and were even entitled to practise agriculture.”³ This caste had always its supremacy over the remaining three castes, since the Brahmans were much respected by the Kashtriyās. The Hindū religion had become the exclusive monopoly of the Brahman class.

Every Brahman was required to have his separate drinking vessels and eating utensils and if any other person used the same, those were broken. The Hindū law had permitted the Brahmans to marry women of other castes, but they never married any woman except of their own caste.⁴ The life of a Brahman fell into four stages (i) Brahmachāryā, 8th to 25th year, to be spent in the study of Vedās and devotion to God (ii) Grihasthā, 25th to 50th year, to be spent in married life, (iii) Vānaprasthā, up to the 75th year,

¹ *The State in Ancient India*—Beni Prasad, pp. 63-64.

² “The main and most essential point of the Hindū world of thought is that which the Brahmans think and believe, for they are specially trained for preserving and maintaining their religion” (*Alberuni's India*—Vol. I, Sachau, p. 39).

³ *Parāsar*—Madhava—Vol. I, pp. 425-426, 123-127.

⁴ *Alberuni's India*—Vol. II, Sachau, p. 156.

when the Brahman quitted his household and dwelt outside the bonds of civilization and led a life of abstinence as in the first period (iv) *Sanyāsa*, when he wore saffron garments, remained indifferent to worldly life, and strove for 'Mōkshā' (salvation).¹ Thus religious tradition had imposed restrictions on a Brahman's cultural and intellectual contact with the outside world and had made him deeply egocentric and insular in his attitude. An inevitable corollary of this attitude was the spirit of self-complacency and intellectual arrogance which characterized the relations of the Panjābis with all foreigners.

The second social class of the Hindūs was of *Kashtriyās*, who were second to the Brahmans in social status. This class consisted of all the fighters. The rulers were selected out of this caste. The Brahmans had always their say in all the important matters of the state such as declaring a war or seeking a treaty. While the *Rājās* were the *Kashtriyās*, the council or the committee which governed was dominated by the Brahmans. It was at the instance of the Brahman advisers that *Rājā Jaipāl* of *Hindū Shahyia* Dynasty had refused the payment of tribute to Subktigin and imprisoned the officials of the Sultān, who were sent to recover the money. *Farishtā* writes "it was then customary among the *Rājās*, in affairs of moment, to assemble a council consisting of an equal number of the most respectable Brahmans, who sat on the right of the throne, and of the noblest *Kashtriyās*, who sat on the left."² The *Kashtriyās* opposed the suggestion of the Brahmans, who did not want to stick to the terms of the treaty. The *Kashtriyā* members of the council emphasised that *Jaipāl* should strictly comply with the terms of the treaty, but the *Rājās* remained obstinate and refused to attend to their advice. The duties of the *Kashtriyā* kings were to punish the wicked and to cherish the good and to protect the country.³ The title of king, it was agreed after quoted texts, appertains to the *Kashtriyās* and the right to wield weapons for the purposes of protecting the people likewise belonged to this class alone.⁴

Next to the *Kashtriyās* was the class of the *Vaishyās*, who were considered inferior to the Brahmans and the *Kashtriyās* in the *Hindū* social structure. This class consisted of the people whose profession was agriculture and trade. Sometimes they also joined the fighting force, and this class formed the bulk of the people. This class was hard-working, sturdy and of very honest tendency.⁵ The duty of the *Vaishyā* was to devote himself to agriculture, cattle breeding and business either on his own behalf or on behalf of a Brahman. The *Vaishyās* were allowed to medi-

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 130-133,

² *Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 17.

³ *Alberuni's India*—Vol. I, Sachau, p. 104.

⁴ *Parāsar—Madhava*—Vol. I, pp. 390-397.

⁵ *Bṛihaddharmā Purān*—Vol. II, pp. 5, 34-36.

ate on God, whom they had to comprehend not on the basis of the Vedās or other sacred texts but through such wild Purānic texts as filtered down to them. Also the Brahmans would accept their alms. The Vaishyās also split into sub-divisions, during this period, on the basis of the different trades they adopted. The temple of Baijnath in Kāngrā according to its inscription had been built by two Vaishyā brothers.¹

The lowest class of the Hindūs was that of the Sudrās. As regards the duties and the occupation of this class, the Sudrās were primarily required to serve the Brahmans, as it ensured for them supreme bliss. The Sudrās were prohibited to practise the Vedic or ordinary religious exercises, and they were also not to study the Vedās or the Purāns, nor were they permitted to explain the sacred text.² The Sudrās were occupied with dirty work like cleansing of houses and other menial duties. They were considered as one sub-class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they were considered like illegitimate children. They were not considered Hindūs but were named as Mlechhās i.e. unclean, because they killed men, slaughtered animals and ate the flesh of cows.³ The extreme limit of the Sudrās' social disability had reached when it required all the people of the other three classes to attain purification by bathing with clothes on, if touched by a Sudrā.⁴

The caste spirit, stern in the extreme, laid down three different principles, two of which were enforced ruthlessly by the power of the Hindū state. The caste-system could only have been preserved and strengthened in an atmosphere of ignorance; had the lower orders been allowed access to the sacred books, they would have undoubtedly claimed equality.

The doors of knowledge were closed on all persons except the Brahmans; and any attempt to cross the barrier was severely punished. It was the privilege of a Brahman, to say prayers, recite the Vedās and offer sacrifices to the fire. When a Sudrā or Vaishyā was proved to have recited the Vedās, he was accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off.⁵

It was not enough to keep the lower orders in ignorance; it was necessary to divide or subdivide them to prevent their developing a corporate spirit similar to that of the Brahmans and

¹ *Alberuni's India*—Vol. I, Sachau, pp. 101, 125, 247, *History of Mediaeval India*—Vol. III, p. 391.

² *Alberuni's India*—Vol. II, Sachau, p. 137.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Brihaddharmā Purān*—Vol. III, pp. 4-5, 24-25, 31-32. *Parāsara*—Madhava—Vol. I, Sachau, pp. 418-420.

⁵ *Alberuni's India*—Vol. II, Sachau, p. 137.

the Kashtriyās. So the Vaishyās and the Sudrās were offered the status of low, but regular castes.¹

The cursed doctrine of 'Chhūt' (untouchability) theological contamination was invoked to strengthen the fabric of the caste system. The conception of theological impurity or 'Chhūt' is an old idea and persists till today. But it seems to have reached its high-water mark in the eleventh century.² The food of the 'mlechhās' as well as of foreigners and their water and fire were considered unclean. A person or a thing contaminated was damned for all time. "The Hindūs never desired that a thing that has once been polluted should be purified and thus recovered."³

In addition to four classes mentioned above, there were many more sub-castes, based on occupation, wherein no man of one creed drank, ate or married those of others. These sub-castes separated on occupational basis were Brewers, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Smiths, Bhats, Jats, Ahirs, Gujars, Rājputs, Sainis, Kambōjās, Arāins, Kanets, Ghiraths, Aroras, Dyers, Barbers, Oilmen, Jugglers, and still many more. Besides all these castes which were classed comparatively as the higher castes of Hinduism, there were the millions of 'Chhūts' (untouchables) also divided into castes of their own e.g. Chamārs, Chuhārās, Mōchis, Banjārās and Weavers.

Socially, the landed classes stood high, and of those the Jats were most important. The Jats were Scythians who retained their pastoral habits longest and for a long time continued to feed their cattle in the great prairies and jungle area of the inter-riverain uplands (called variously the Dhaya, Bet, or Khaidir) and the sub-mountain areas, acquired or retained the name of Gujar, and the pastoral tribes of the south-east were called Ahirs. But great mass of the tribes who took more readily to agriculture were the Jats, a name may be identified with Latin Getae of Goths. The Jat is in every respect the most important of the Panjāb peoples. Ethnologically, he is the peculiar and most prominent product of the plains. He is more honest, more industrious, more sturdy and manly. Vigorous labour is his strongest characteristic. The Jats were divided, even as they are now, into numerous tribes and sects, and many of those held considerable areas which were divided into village communities. By religion they were partly the Budhists and the Hindūs. Later, many of them were converted into Islām and during the sixteenth century many more embraced Sikhism, in the central Districts of the Panjāb. The Gakhars, the Janjuās, Tahims, Bhuttās, Langāhs, Chhinas, Sumras, Varaichs, Chimās, the Awāns, the Bains, the Toors, the Bals, the Nijjars⁴ and many other Jat tribes played a dominant role in the Panjāb during the period under our study.

¹ *Manu*—Vol. I, p. 326.

² *Manu*—Chapter-X, pp. 402-403.

³ *Alberuni's India*—Vol. II. Sachau, p. 20.

⁴ Nijjar Jats are the founder of Ajnālā (Nijjarwālā), who possess several villages in Amritsar and Jalandhar Districts. One of their leaders,
(Contd. on next page)

The Gujar is a fine stalwart fellow, of precisely the same physical type as the Jat. He is almost of the same social status, though slightly inferior. The Gujar has been turbulent throughout the history of the Panjāb to attack and plunder their neighbours. Among the other agricultural classes, the Sainis are perhaps the most skilful and industrious cultivators who create wonders with their land by producing three or even four crops within the year from the same plot. The Sainis trace their origin to a Rājput-clan who came from their original home near Mathura.¹ The Kambojās were also one of the finest cultivating caste. They seldom engaged themselves in market-gardening but they were no less industrious and skilful than the Arāins.

The Hindū Rājputs were found mainly in the north-east corner of the province, and in the Himālayās and submontane tracts, the Rājput tribes of the plains having for the most part accepted Islām. Below these castes, both socially and numerically, stood the Muslim Arāins in the Himālayās of the north-east of the province. They were found in great numbers throughout the northern, central and western portions of the eastern plains and throughout the Rāwalpindi and the Multan Divisions. The Kanets were the low-caste cultivating class of the eastern Himālayās of the Panjāb and the hills as their base, as far as Kulū and the eastern portion of the Kāngra District. The Ghiraths formed great cultivating class under the Hindū Rājput kings who were not socially, culturally and economically dislodged by the Muslim government. In the south-west especially in Derā Ghāzi Khān District, west of the Indus, the Balochis formed a dominant race of undaunted Irānian descent.

Essentially pastoral tribes were cowherds, found mainly in the lower Himālayās, and the Gaddis or shepherds in the state of Chambā and Kāngra District. The trading castes in the villages occupied a lower position than the landowning classes, but Banjārās in the south-east of the province, the Khathis in the centre and north-west and the Arōrās in the south-west. The Arōrā, or Rōrā as he is often called, is the trader par excellence of the south-western of the Panjāb. He was commonly known as 'Kirār', a word almost synonymous with 'coward', and even more contemptuous than was the name 'Banyā' in the east of the province.

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S. Mit Singh Nijjar Popularly known, "Dangai—a valient fighter" had fought against Ahmed Shāh Abdālī; the Thānesar chiefs were also Nijjar Jats, who had migrated from Ajnālā to establish a Nijjar Chiefship there. (Read for full details "*Nasab Khāndān-i-Thānesar*—March 25, 1844 A.D." Panjāb State Archives Register No. VI, SR Nos. 3692-3706 of the Urdu/Persian District Records, and Sardar Mit Singh Nijjar by Gyani Garjā Singh Research Scholar, Panjābi University, Patialā).

¹ *The Indian Village Community*—Baden Powell, pp. 121-122, 267, 273 274.

The Early History of India—V.A. Smith, p. 390.

The capitalist indigenous to the Panjāb was the intellectual Khatri, who, tracing a real or fictitious descent from the old warrior caste of Kashatriyās, had nevertheless for generations abandoned the profession of arms for commercial pursuits.¹ The Principal Muslim trading classes were the Shaikhs and the Khojās.²

It was the rigidity of caste-system which considerably contributed to the failure of the Panjābis before the foreigners. Even in the Hindū army, caste rigidity was strictly adhered to. Whereas the Turk forces on march have been described as "moving cities," the Indian army overridden by caste system could not be anything but a display of soul racking taboo. Though the whole Hindū population was in arms, yet the nine-tenths were serving as menials in the fields, and the rest were sleeping in the distant villages. Fighting along with the lower caste being regarded as a disgrace, and association of people of one caste with the other being forbidden, individuals would cook and eat their meals separately according to their own special rites; and none except co-caste persons would join the funeral ceremony of one dead at home or killed in the battle-field.³

The Hindūs were not altogether ignored by the Sultāns. They were actively participating in all walks of life during this period. Ziā-ud-din Barani depicted the general condition and position of the Hindū in these words "The infidels and polythiests regarded as Kharājīs⁴ 'Zimmis'⁵ and therefore, they are advanced to great positions and are honoured; they are rewarded with drums, banners and standards inset with jewels; dresses of gold brocade and saddled horses are presented to them; and they are appointed to governorships, high offices and important posts." The writer goes on to say that even in the capital cities of the province, the Hindūs built houses like palaces, they wear dresses of gold brocade and ride Arab horses with gold and silver harness; they decorate themselves with a hundred thousand insignia of greatness; they indulge in luxurious comfort, they employ Muslims as their servants who run in front of their horses and the poorest among the Muslims

¹ *Musalmāns and Money-lenders in the Panjāb*—Thorburn, p. 56.

² *Panjāb Census Report*—Vol. I, (1881)—Ibbetson, pp. 424, 480, 481, 555.

People and Problems of India—Holderness, pp. 100-120, 33.

³ *Later Hindū Civilization*—R.C. Dutt, p. 192.

Alberuni's India—Vol. II, Sachau, p. 163.

Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India—Nizāmi, p. 80.

⁴ Kharājī, tribute or generally used either for the land tax payer or for the subordinate prince.

⁵ The non-Muslims. They were called 'zimmis' or people under a contract of protection by the Muslim State on a condition of certain services to be rendered by them and certain political and civil disabilities to be borne by them.

⁶ *Fatwā-i-Jahāndāri*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 120.

beg alms from them. Whatever might be the true picture of the social structure of the Hindūs in the Panjāb during the period under our study, the social sympathy which existed previously among the various sections of the Hindū people, was gone, and it was replaced by a feeling of aloofness and aversion.

Throughout this period the Central Asian Muslims, particularly the Turks and the Afghāns formed the ruling class in the Panjāb. The Turks were the most jealous guardians of this ruling class, and their military power enabled them to reserve the leadership for their own race. In the beginning, the Turks had overrun the North Indian river Valleys, the fame and the increased resources had heightened their superiority complex and this complex was all the more encouraged by their success in withstanding the Mughal storm when all other people could not face them.

From the very beginning of the Sultānate two broad divisions of Muslim society had persisted. The first were the men of the sword and the second were the men of the pen. From the men of sword were drawn recruits for the Muslim army, and from the men of pen were recruited the staff for the clerical services, e.g. the 'Kātib'¹, the 'Dabir'² and the 'Wazir'.³ The lower division of the revenue clerical staff was recruited from the native lettered classes both the Hindūs and the Muslims. But in the second category were the men of pen comprising the ecclesiastics, theologians and literati who along with the 'Amirs' formed the first two estates of the Muslim society. The latter manned the judicial and ecclesiastical services, and wherever there was a mosque, it must have one 'Imām' and the 'Kātib'. The 'muhtasib' and the 'Mufti' represented an interest which received the State recognition. They were the controllers of educational establishments and put a premium on orthodox thought and learning calculated to undermine their positions. The authority of the Chief Qāzi who officially presided over this class, thus embraced all the lettered Muslims except the groups known as the Shaikhs, the mystic saints whose independence and other worldliness could never suit the literal mind as theologian.

The Turkish aristocracy was that of the men of sword, the fighters, who supplied executive and military personnel. Their military titles thus awarded to this class were graded into Khān, Malik, Amir, Sipahsālār, and Sar-i-Khail.⁴ The highest status below that of the king was conferred by the title of Ulugh Khān,⁵ naturally held by only one person at a time. The high dignitaries of the State, army officers, companions of the Sultāns and the nobles

¹ The writer, a scribe, a clerk.

² A writer, the Secretary.

³ A minister.

⁴ *History of India*—Vol. III, E&D, p. 578.

⁵ The Great Khān

occupied a position only next to the Sultān in the social life of the capital city and cities of the empire. Their salaries were high and they held high administrative and military assignments. Important nobles held high positions as governors of provinces and commanders in the army, and tried to emulate the Sultān in every way. In the latter half of the fifteenth century some of the nobles built mansions as would almost rival the Sultāns' palaces. The accumulation of their wealth introduced into their lives all the uses and abuses of luxury. Women, wine, songs, chess and Chaugān¹ were their common pastime.²

The last or the third element of the Muslim society was 'Awām-i-Khalaq.'³ The Muslim society was mainly urban. It had included all the indeterminate city crowd, the artisans, the shopkeepers, the clerks and the petty traders. An important section was formed by the slaves owned by the Sultāns and the nobility who before promotion to the ranks of 'Amirs' were employed in various domestic and technical jobs. They contributed the largest quota to the staff of the different workshops, but craftsmen included non-Muslims also.⁴ This was the lowest strata of the Muslim society. During this period, the Muslims were mostly confined to cities and very few lived in the villages.

The converted Muslim population, which was very small at the beginning of the eleventh century, began gradually to increase till the close of the fifteenth century. This class consisted mostly of Hindūs of low castes who, for various reasons, had abandoned their religion and turned Muslims. This conversion from the Hindūs, considerable in number swelled the rank and file. They were not admitted into the aristocratic status of the conquerors and also were not even given share of their social and economic privileges. They had little share in the administration of the country and had no place in the aristocracy of the ruling class. They were far inferior in wealth, position and innate pride to the vast majority of their Hindū country men. Their only consolation was that they professed the same religion as their rulers and that they could pray with them on Fridays.⁵

However, there are some cognisable reasons which made the Hindūs to accept the foreign regime and the religion. One of the most powerful factors in that connection was the Muslim social order which contrasted sharply with the caste-ridden social and

¹ Polo.

² *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 357-358.

The Rehla—Ibn Batuttā-(I B.) p. 129.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Shams Sirāj-Afif, pp. 296-297, 437-438.

³ The masses

⁴ *Fatwā-i-Jahāndāri*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 120.

⁵ *Islamic Culture*—Hydrābād Deccan (1937), pp. 177-178.

legal structures of Mediaeval India. The idea of social oneness, which was deeply imbedded in the religious thought of Muslims, was a unique example for the caste-torn people of this country. Salvation was open to all in the Muslim world. All people, high and low, assembled at the same place and prostrated alike before God, a strange phenomenon for the Hindūs of that age. These were the principles of common brotherhood which Nanak had also emphasised later on to his disciples, the Sikhs. The Sikhs like the Muslims, lived together and did not believe in the idea of theological contamination. The idea of being born from the sun or the moon, or the head or foot of Brahmā was non-convincing to the Muslims who totally discarded it.

2. THE MYSTICS

1. The Muslim Saints :

Sūfism was born soon after the death of the Prophet and proceeded on orthodox lines.¹ Its adepts had ascetic tendencies, led hard lives, practised the tenets of Qurān to the very letter. But this asceticism soon passed into mysticism, and before the end of the second century A.H. (815 A.D.) these ascetics began to be known to the people as Sūfis.² The name Sūfi was given to them because they wore woollen garments. The term, Libās-ul-sūf, which formerly meant 'he clad himself in wool,' and was applied to a person who renounced the world and became an ascetic,³ hence forward signified that he became a Sūfi.⁴

The Islāmic Sūfism (mysticism), which is a body of doctrine and a movement, came to the Panjāb with the Ghaznavids. Though the political power of the Ghaznavids declined and they were ultimately replaced by the more virile Ghōrides, their occupation of the Panjāb had changed the entire pattern of social life in that region. Eminent saints, poets, scholars and administrators had migrated to Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur and to some other towns of the province from distant parts of the Muslim world. Shaikh Husain Zanjāni,⁵ Shaikh Ali Hujveri,⁶ Māsūd Saīd Salmān,⁷ Alberūni, Abul Faij Rūni, Sultān Sakhi Sarwar and some more Sūfi saints made far reaching contributions to the social and cultural life of the province. The Panjāb became a halfway house between the Central Asian Muslim lands on one side and the Rājput kingdoms on the other. It was from the land of the Five Rivers that Sūfism filtered into the Gangetic Valley, and then in every

¹ J.R.A.S.—Vol. XXXVIII-1996, p. 305.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*—Vol. XII, (Hastings-1914), p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁵ *Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād*—Amir Hasan Sijzi, p. 35.

⁶ *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*—Text, p. 157.

⁷ See *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*—Amir Khusrau.

corner of India, and their leaders or the Shaikhs divided the country among themselves as their religious spheres of influence.

The Sūfism was profoundly influenced by Hindū thought, belief and practices. The very conception between a loving God and the relations between God and soul as one of the beloved and the lover are peculiar to Hindūism and were adopted by the Sūfis in the Panjāb, and ultimately throughout the country. The Muslim conception of God is that of the Master and the relation between God and man in Islām is similar to that between master and servant. Pacificism and non-violence which were imbibed by Indian Muslim Sūfis were also peculiar to Hindūism, Buddhism and Jainism. Some of the ascetic practices, which involved the starving¹ and torturing of the body, such as 'Chillā-i-makūs',² seems to have been borrowed from the Hindū and Buddhist practices. They adopted many Hindū customs and ceremonials in the initial stages of the development of their 'silsilā' in India. The practice of bowing before the Shaikh,³ presenting water to visitors, circulating 'Zambīl'⁴, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle,⁵ audition parties⁶ and the 'Inverted Chillā', had close resemblance to Hindū and Buddhist practices.⁷

The Sūfis believed in the doctrine of communion with God. In order to attain the direct communion, which they called gnosis (mārifat) or union (wasl), they practised austerities and led a life of devotion. In their journey to achieve the union with the absolute they had to pass through ten stages which were repentance (tāuba), abstinence (warā), piety "zuhd", poverty (faqr), patience (sabr), gratitude (shukr), fear (khāuf), hope (rajā), contentment (twakkul) and submission to the divine will (razā).

1. The first Sūfi Muslim saint among the Sūfis was Shaikh Ismāil of Lāhore.⁸ He was followed by Shaikh Ali-bin-Usmān-ul-Hujveri, better known under his sobriquet of Data-ganj-Bakhsh. His real name was Ali Mukhdūm Hujveri of Ghazni. His father's name was Usmān, and he was the disciple of Shaikh Abul Fazl-bin-Hasan Khutbi. He followed the arms of Sultān Māsud (1031-1040) to Lāhore where he settled in 1039. Having lived for thirty-four years in Lāhore, during which time he greatly benefited the people of Lāhore by his learning and piety, he died in 1072 and was buried

¹ The tying of a rope to one's feet and getting one's body lowered into a well and offering prayer in that posture for 40 nights.

² The forty days of fasting to turn upside down.

³ *Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād*—Amir Hasan Sijzi, pp. 158-159.

⁴ A bowl made of dried and hallow gourd (*Khair-ul-Majālis*, p. 150).
Siyār-ul-Auliya—Amir Khurd, p. 66.

⁵ *Khair-ul-Majālis*, pp. 65-66.

⁶ *Samā*.

⁷ *Religion and Politics in India*—K.A. Nizāmi, pp. 178-179.

⁸ *Chashma-i-Kausar*—M. Ikram. p. 69.

close to a mosque which he had built for himself. He was an eminent scholar and was the author of many books on theology. One of his most famous books is *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*.¹ He can be described as the founder of the Sūfi cult in the Panjāb which gained much popularity among the Muslim masses and had profoundly influenced their entire moral and religious outlook. His greatness was recognised by Khawājā Muin-ud-din of Ajmer, the greatest Sūfi saint of India, who underwent a course of spiritual purification (Chillā) at his tomb, soon after his arrival in India. He was deeply affected by the graces showered upon him at his holy place, and he repeated the following verse standing at the foot of Ali Makhdūm's tomb at Lāhore, out of respect for the saint.

‘The bestower of treasure in both words,
reflector of the splendour of God
An accomplished spiritual guide for the
learned and a guide for the ignorant.’

2. Abul Faij Rūni was another Sūfi saint of the later Ghaznavid period, who was an eminent poet and scholar. He was educated in Lāhore and was born in a village Roon, situated in the Lāhore District.²

3. Sayyid Ahmad Sultān Sakhi Sarwar, popularly known as Lakh Dātā, was another Sufi saint of the Ghaznavid period who enjoys great fame even today throughout the Panjāb, and still has a large number of followers known as Sultānis, both among the Hindūs and the Muslims. He died at Shāhkōt, a place near Multān, in 1181 (577 A.H.). But his shrine crowns the high bank of a hill stream at the foot of the Sulaimān hills in the District and tahsil of Derā Ghāzi Khān, in the midst of arid desert scenery, well adapted for the residence of those who desire to mortify the flesh. The buildings include the mausoleum of Sakhi Sarwar himself; a monument of Bābā Nānak (1469-1539) and a Hindū temple. Thus these comprise a curious mixture of Hindu and Muslim architecture, and are frequented by devotees of all religions. “One can easily form a good idea of the firm hold of which these two saints (Sakhi Sarwar and Ali Makhdūm) have retained through the long centuries over the popular mind, from the large number of devotional songs, extolling their spiritual merits, which the beggars and the wandering minstrels of the Panjāb go about singing to the accompaniment of their crude stringed instruments.”³

4. Bahā-ud-din Zakariyā was the founder of Suhrawardi Sūfi order in India who was born at Kot Arōr near Multān in

¹ *Kashf-ul-Mahjub (Text)* is translated by Gulzār-i-Hind Press, Lāhore and also it was translated into English by Nicholson, London, 1936.

² *Life and Times of Shaikh-Farid-ud-din-K* A. Nizāmi, p. 13.

³ *The Struggle for the Empire*-B.V. Bhavan, p. 467,
Chashmā-i-Kausar-M. Ikram, p. 69,

1182-83. He met the famous Sūfi saint Shihāb-ud-din Suhrawardi during the course of his journey to Bukhārā, Baghdād and Jerusalem. He set up a Khānqā at Multān where he lived and worked for about half a century and where he died in December, 1263. His descendants Shaikh Sadr-ud-din and Abul Fateh Rukn-ud-din, carried on the work of spiritual salvation after his demise. His cult was accepted by both the communities. He was the most influential Sūfi saint of the thirteenth century. His mystic ideology differed greatly from that of the Chishti Sūfis.¹

5. Shaikh Farid-ud-din Māsud Ganj-i-Shakar was born sometime in 1175 A.D.² He was the second of the three sons of Jamāl-ud-din. After finishing his early education in Khutwāl, a small village in Multān district, where he was born, he went to Multān. He was eighteen years of age when he joined the school (madarsā) in the mosque of Maulānā Minhāj-ud-din Tirmzī, near the Sarai-Halwāi. His first teacher whose influence was the most lasting on him was his mother Qarsūm Bibi, who enkindled that spark of divine love in him which later dominated his entire being, and moulded his thought and action.³ Farid used to advise his disciples to read this couplet in their prayers to God :—

O Lord I want three things from Thee

Happy time, tears and repose of heart.

Farid became the disciple of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din at a very early age and practised devotion and austerities including the Chillā-i-Mākus. He settled down at Hānsi and later on moved to Ajodhan.⁴ He named the ferry as Pāk-Pattan. He had many wives and several children, and always lived on the verge of starvation. He trained many disciples and established many Khānqās. He was so popular that he was almost always surrounded by visitors and disciples. He became one of the most respected Sūfis in India. He died in 1265⁵ and was buried at Pākpattan. The shrine of Bābā Farid attracts crowds of worshippers, its sanctity being acknowledged as far as Afghānistān and Central Asia. The principal festival is held at the Muharram. Balban had great faith in Shaikh Farid. Before ascending the throne, the Sultān

¹ *Religion and Politics in India*-K.A. Nizāmi, pp. 253-256.

The Struggle for the Empire-B.V. Bhavan, pp. 467-468.

² 571 A.H. However there is some difference of opinion about his date of birth. The author of the *Siyār-ul-Auliya* says that he was born in 569 A.H. and that he attained the age of 95 years. It appears from *Fuwāid-ul-Fuād* that he lived for 93 years.

³ *Fuwāid-ul-Fuād*-Amir Hasan Sijzi. p. 121.

Siyār-ul-Auliya-Mir Khurd, p. 59.

⁴ *Religion and Politics in India*-K.A. Nizāmi, p. 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

went to see the Sufi saint the Pākṣattān and presented a dish full of coins to him with a view to receiving the Shaikh's blessings.¹

As regards the teachings of the saint, his sayings are "not dry aphorisms. They epitomise the essence of morality and wisdom and are deeply steeped in the mystic ideology. The Shaikh always tried to impress by precept and example upon the minds of his followers that the supreme aim of a mystic's life should be to create love and affection in the hearts of the people."² Shaikh wanted his disciples to develop complete faith in God, because this faith alone could bring about concentration and intensification of human powers.

These Sufi saints were honoured and respected by the Sultāns, who gave them liberal grants, but they shunned all offers or services. The Sūfi-saints helped in creating a healthy social and political atmosphere among the masses. Revered by the Sultāns and commoners alike they played the part of peace-makers in times of war. Shaikh Sadar-ud-din, the successor of Bahā-ud-din interceded with Taimūr on behalf of the Hindū ruler of Bhatner. Shaikh Ahmed helped in the release of many prisoners that Taimūr had taken. Similarly peace was concluded between Iqbāl Khān and Bahrām Turkbachā of Samānā at the instance of Sayyid Shams-ud-din.³

3. THE HINDU SAINTS

Jōgis was a regular religious order of the Hindūs, which included both the Aughar Jōgis and the Kanpāttā Jōgis ascetics, who are followers of Gorakhnāth and priests and worshippers of Shivā. Bairāgi signified any one devoid of passion, was a regular order of Vaishnavā devotees, said to have been founded by Sri Anand, the twelfth disciple of Rāmānand in the fourteenth century. They were divided into several sections, among which may be mentioned the Rāmānand who worshipped Rām Chandrā, the Rādhābalbhi, who especially affected the worship of Rādhā, the beloved of Krishnā, the Namānandī, whose chief object of reverence was Salig Rām and the Rāmānuji who adored Mahādeo, though these last two would appear to be Shivā rather than Vaishnavā. They were for the most part collected in monasteries, like those of the 'Khānqās' of the Muslim Sūfi saints, and were treated as an exceedingly respectable class of the Hindū 'sādhūs,' equally well received by the Muslims. The Bairāgis used to mix up freely with the Muslim 'faqirs' and thus had the religious debates and discussions with open mind and with liberal views.

¹ *Siyār-ul-Auliya*-Mir Khurd, pp. 79-80.

² *Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād*-Amir Hasan Sijzi, p. 226.

Siyār-ul-Auliya-Mir Khurd, p. 81.

³ *Tārikh-i-Afaghāna*-A. Yādgār, p. 125.

Siyār-ul-Auliya-Mir Khurd, p. 102.

Sanyāsi was another sect of the Hindū saints who were the followers of the Shivā, and in the Panjāb the word of Sanyāsi was commonly used to denote the followers of Shankarāchārya. There were Muslim Jogis, whose mysticism had much in common with the practices of the Hindū ascetics. These ascetic sects of the Hindūs enjoyed the highest respect; the members were generally living in shrines where they lived quiet and peaceful lives, keeping open houses to travellers, training their neophytes and exercising a wholesome influence upon the people of the neighbourhood. Mainly the 'Bairāgis' and 'Gosāins' were living in the monasteries, but travelled about begging and visiting their disciples; though there they generally had permanent headquarters in some village or at some shrine or temple where one of their orders officiated.

So too the monasteried orders travelled about among their disciples and collected the offerings upon which they partly subsisted. There was an immense number of these men whose influence was almost wholly for good. A few of the orders were professedly celibate, though among them the rule was seldom strictly observed; but most of the Hindū orders were divided into the Sanyōgi and Viyōgi sections of which the later only took vows of celibacy, while among the Muslim orders celibacy was seldom professed. The professed mystics were called 'Sadhūs' if Hindūs, and 'Pirs' if Muslims. The Hindūs at any rate had their neophytes who were undergoing probation before admission into the order, and these men were called 'Chelās'. But besides these both Hindū and Muslim mystics had their disciples, known respectively as 'Sevak', and 'Murid', and these later belonged to the order as much as do their spiritual guides. In the mediaeval period, they had greatly contributed to give congenial atmosphere to the people of both the communities of the Panjāb, who had to live together in the same land.

These Hindū Jōgis were physicians. They cured all sorts of serious and grave diseases by applying small insignificant herbs, so much so that a little herb could enable an old man to enjoy sexual pleasures. They performed 'Yōga abhyās' and so their lives were very long.¹ They had the spiritual power to tell about their previous birth. They did not care for the world and were not subject to passions. Such Jōgis were in abundance, and women had no scruples in worshipping them.²

The monastery of Jōgis on the summit of the isolated peak of Tillā, which rises to a height of over 3,200 feet about 20 miles west of Jhelum, is one of the oldest religious institutions in Northern India. It is known as Tillā Gorakhnāth, but was formerly called Tillā Bālnāth, and the name is still well known. The Jōgis say that Bālnāth was a prominent disciple of Gorakhnāth, the legendary

¹ *John Marshal in India*—Edited by Dr. A. S. Khān, pp. 231-233.

² *Ibid.* p. 197.

founder of the institution. This monastery of the Jōgīs was visited by Akbar in 1581 when he was gratified to the austerities of the Jōgīs, who were stark naked.¹ On appointed days especially on Shiva-rātri, which is a day sacred to Mahādeo at the end of winter, many men and crowds of Jōgīs assembled there and performed worship. There were many such monasteries of Hindū mystics, found all over the Panjāb e.g. in Kāngrā and Hoshiārpur districts and at Multān, Lāhore, Gujarat, Jhelum and Jalandhar.

Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar was the first Indo-Muslim saint about whose contacts with the Hindū religious thinkers and religious discussions with them we have clear and definite information. Hindū Jōgīs used to visit his Jama'at Khānqā² very frequently and the inmates sometimes discussed interesting problems with them. Saikh Nizām-ud-dīn Aūliyā twice met Hindū Jōgīs in his Jama'at Khānqā.³ On another occasion a Hindū Jōgī explained to him his views about the birth and character of children, relationship between wife and husband and other similar⁴ subjects.

Ibn-Battutā met such ascetics and his description shows that the Jōgīs were very much in evidence all over the Panjāb throughout the period under our study, and like the Muslim saints they seem to have enjoyed universal respect. But they did not, probably could not, do any proselytising work. Being ascetics, they even kept away from the people. However, the contact of the people with Muslim saints and Hindū Jōgīs helped in the evolution of Hindū Muslim unity and better understanding, as both were reversed by all the sections of the people and the nobility.⁵ According to Mr. Habib Ullā "Whether one agrees or not with the view that Indian Vedāntism was largely responsible for its growth. It is undeniable that the mysticism of the Sūfis furnished Islām's philosophical point of contact with Hindūism. It is through such contacts fostered by the simplicity and broad humanism of the Sūfis that Islām obtained its largest number of free converts and it is in this sense that he is considered a missionary."⁶

In fact the Muslim mystics had free social intercourse with the Hindūs and tried to understand their approach towards the basic problems of religions and morality. It was their firm conviction that spiritual greatness could be attained by the Hindūs in the same way as it could be achieved by the Muslims. These Muslim mystics were believers in non-violence, because like those of the

¹ *Commentary—Monserrate*, p. 115.

India of Aurangzeb—J. N. Sarkār, p. 117.

² *Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād—Amir Hasan Sijzi*, pp. 84-85, 245.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 84-85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ *Rehla of Ibn Battutā—Mehdi Hussain*, pp. 164-166.

⁶ *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India—Habibullā*, p. 305.

Ahimsā of the Hindū mystics, they disliked injuring any living being, man or animal. Their vegetarianism, whether due to spiritual or social considerations was bound to increase the area of contact with the Hindūs.¹

4. POSITION OF WOMAN

The position of a Hindū woman was subordinated and in the long run came to be understood as the service of the male and dependence upon him in every stage of life. As a daughter, a woman lived under the wardship of her father, as a wife under the tutelage of her husband, and as widow under the care of her eldest son.² In a word, her life was a state of perpetual wardship, and the social laws and customs stamped her with a sort of mental deficiency. Though there was no free mixing of sexes or universal education among women in those days, yet this sex enjoyed certain freedom. The Hindū women freely participated in Yagyās, court ceremonials and fairs, and they even fought in battles. They in fact took part in all walks of life, such as in literary activities, paintings, dances and in other amusements.³ But the Panjāb women were mainly confined to home and domestic cares. All her dreams were concentrated on proving herself a devoted wife to her husband and in trying to please him.⁴ The male, on the other hand, began to look upon her as person of feeble brain and not to be trusted too far or in things that matter.

But with the advent of the Muslims, the position of women in the Panjāb worsened all the more. After the fall of every fort or a city during the war, Hindū women suffered every kind of privation. Sometimes even in times of peace, this sex remained the real target of sufferings from the invaders. As a bulwark against those humiliations the Hindū women had to practise 'Jauhar' and 'Sati' already prevalent in Hindū society on a large scale in the times of war. During the invasion of Taimūr, even the Muslim women had to perform 'Jauhar' when the fort of Bhatner was sacked.⁵ Ibn-Battutā witnessed the 'Sati' performed on many occasions and has given many sad details which he had witnessed himself.⁶ To the Hindū women who did not stray away from the standards laid down by Manu, her husband was lord, her master and her God, and many stories are told of the conjugal devotion of Hindū women in the literature of the period under review.⁷

¹ *The Religion and Politics in India*—Nizami, pp. 262-263.

Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād—Amir Hasan Sijzi, pp. 70, 84-85.

² *Principles of Hindu Law*—D.F. Mullā, p. 371.

³ *History of India*—Vol. I, E&D, pp. 77-78.

⁴ *Matla-ul-Anwar*—Amir Khusrau (1884), p. 192.

⁵ *Zafar Nāmā*—Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi-Vol. II, pp. 74-75.

History of India—Vol. III, E&D, p. 426.

⁶ *Ibn-Battutā*—Def-et. Sang, pp. 21-22, 109.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Afāghāna*—A. Yādgār, pp. 45, 107.

It was also customary among the Hindūs that when they go forth to battle or during an attack by an enemy, they collected all their women in one building, and surrounded it with wood and straw and oil, and placed on guard some trusty relentless men, who set fire to it when those engaged in fight despair of life and these chaste women vigilant of their honour are consumed to death with unflinching courage.¹ "On account of fear from the Muslims and their high handedness, new rules were made to enforce early marriage. It was laid down that the girls should be given away in marriage at the age of seven, ten and at the most twelve years. A marriage at or after the age of puberty was considered a bad marriage and a matter of sin for the parents."²

The status of the Muslim women during this period as mentioned by some of the contemporary travellers in the society was very low. According to them the Muslim women had no souls, as they were too much the servants of their husbands' passions and the toys of their idle hours. But in Muslim society in accordance with the Commands of the Qurān, women are in no way inferior to men. Men and women are equally indispensable for each other. Some of the verses³ of the Qurān and the sayings⁴ of the Prophet Muhammad clearly indicate her position, and the laws of marriage and divorce, of inheritance and widow marriage are meant for her protection. But Amir Ali, the author of the *Spirit of Islām* has tried to prove that the honour of the Muslim women had always been jealously safeguarded by the followers of Islām. He says that the very word 'Haram'⁵ signifies something sacred and show the Muslim women were held in honour verging on veneration.⁶ In spite of all this the Muslim women were not allowed to mix freely with men. The fear that the members of opposite sexes are apt to go wrong if allowed to mix more freely, always haunted the minds of elderly patriarchs and therefore they spared nothing to prevent the possibility of their women's meeting and mixing with those with whom marriage could be contracted and thus go wrong. The precaution was identified in the long run with living in seclusion.

¹ "Jaipal now sent other ambassadors to explain to Sūbūktagin the customs of the Indian soldiers, particularly the rajpūts, who if driven of desperation", said he, "murder their wives and children, set fire to their houses and property, let loose their hair and rushing on the enemy are heedless of death, in order to obtain revenge." (*Tārikh-i-Farishīā* Vol. I-Briggs, pp. 16-17).

² *Mediaeval Indian Culture*—Śrīvastava, p. 33.

³ *Al-Qurān*—Chapter II-Verses, p. 228-229.

Al-Qurān—Chapter IV-Verses, I,3,4, 7.

⁴ "Paradise lies at the feet of the mother" The best of you is one who is the best in his treatment towards his wife.

⁵ Haram—The women's apartment. Seraglio, (Muhammad) Harem, a wife.

⁶ *The Spirit of Islām*—Amir Ali, pp. 222-257.

'Pardā' finds mention in the *Arthashāhstrā* as well. In it, we come across "Laws for making contracts between women who lived in seclusion and others which are absolutely peculiar to such women."¹ Thus 'Pardā' is an ancient indigenous institution and seems to be in existence in the land from time immemorial. According to Mrs. Frieda H. Dass "It arose along with the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hallmark of aristocracy." According to Sh. N.C. Mehta, it is, of course, untrue that Islām brought the 'Pardā' into this country. Seclusion of women can be traced in all ancient communities and it was particularly among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindū civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility.² The rich had elaborate arrangements of 'Pardā'. The poor began to use what is now known as 'Burqā'. In times of peace 'Pardā' and child marriage were considered to be good safeguards of women. The custom of 'Ghūngat' (covering the face) among the Hindū women was very common, but the more developed form of 'Pardā', with its elaborate code of rules, came into existence almost from the beginning of the Muslim rule in the Panjāb. Life of women was restricted in Muslim society. Ferōze Tughluq and Sikandar Lōdi had restricted the pilgrimage of women to the tombs of the saints.³

According to the Islāmic conception of 'Pardā' based on the Qurān, the greatest guide of the Muslim women can move about and earn their living, but they have to cast down their eyes and to conceal those parts of their body that are apt to excite passions and not to display their ornaments.⁴

In fact, the masses consisting mostly of peasant women moved about freely without wearing any veil. They did not live in seclusion and observed only 'Ghūngat'. The respectable ladies went about in litters⁵ which were carried by two or sometimes by four litter-bearers, accompanied by their male servants or eunuchs. The women of middle class used what are now called 'Burqās' or long garments, covering their heads and coming down to their ankles.⁶

The customs of 'Jauhar', 'Sati' female infanticide, child marriage and 'Pardā' had created a hell on earth for the female sex.

¹ *Kautilya's Arthashāstra*—Sham Shastri, p. 188.

² N.C. Mehta's Article on 'Pardā' in the leader, Allahabad, May, 1928.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 384.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Shams Sirāj Afif, pp. 36-39.

Ibn-Battutā—Mehdi Hussain, pp. 63, 123.

Padyavalli Bangya of Vidyapati Tr. Coomaraswami and Sen (1915)

⁴ Vide *Al-Quran*—Chapter, XXIV, Verses, 30-31.

⁵ Called 'Dolis' or 'Palkis'.

⁶ *J.A.S.B.*—Vol. I (1935) p. 342.

It was due to all such miseries and handicaps that the birth of a female child was very much lamented by the parents. Infanticide among the Hindūs was very much prevalent in the Panjāb during the Sultānate period. The Gakhars were particularly sanguine to kill their daughters at the time of their birth. Farishtā writes : "As soon a female child was born, the father would take her to the door of the house, and holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other proclaim that if any one wanted a wife, he was at liberty to take her away ; if no body came forward, the poor infant was immediately put to death."¹

4. PROSTITUTION

Prostitution was known in the Panjāb before the advent of the Muslims. During the Mediaeval period, the tradition of offering girls to the scared Hindū temples was quite common.² Treatises on sexual science, especially the 'Kamasutra' which is supposed to be the best exposition on the science of erotics, were written long before the Muslims arrived in the land of the Five Rivers.³

The Muslim rulers were equally fond of this institution. Alā-ud-din had approved it and had fixed the tariff of wages for public women and had circulated an order among them whereby they were surely prohibited from raising their charges above the scheduled rates.⁴ The latter Sultāns had never attempted to abolish or prohibit prostitution on ethical grounds, rather the Muslim administrative heads helped in regulating it, which was also a source of revenue. The public prostitutes were further closely associated with music and dancing which occupied a very important place in the scheme of social pleasures.

The love of male sweet heart (Ghilmān prasti) which figures so prominently in contemporary Persian and Arabic poetry and literatures, do show an unhealthy sex-complex even though it may imply nothing more. Sodomy was much popular among the Muslim and Muhammad Ashraf gives the reasons for it that "Due probably to the prevalence of slavery and 'pardā', and to the segregation of a part of the population in military camps away from the operation of normal family influences, the handsome appearance of a youth had become an object of undue admiration, if not of carnal desire."⁵ The relations of Mahmūd of Ghazni with Iyāz of Sultān Kaiqbād with his male sweet hearts, of Sultān Alā-ud-din Khilji with Malik Kafur and of his son and successor Mubārak Shāh with Khursrau Khān are the clear instances of the prevalence of this practice among the Sultāns. The practice whether bad or

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 183.

² *The Struggle for the Empire*—Vol. V. B.V. Bhavan, pp. 494-496.

³ *Journal of the Department of Letters*—Calcutta University (1921), pp. 116-117.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 199

⁵ *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustān*—Mohd. Ashraf, p. 227.

good, which was patronised by the rulers became also popular among the people. Though the contemporary historians did not and perhaps could not write comprehensively on these sinful practices yet we have many references where even sodomy was definitely common with the nobles and ultimately prevalent among the people. Some passages of Amir Khusrau in particular, reflect the extremely low-manners prevalent in this particular respect.¹

5. THE PRACTICE OF 'SATI'

The act of burning a Hindū wife under certain conditions after the death of her husband was called Sati. The woman who burnt herself was called a 'Sati.' On the whole this custom in the Panjāb was confined to the upper classes of Hindū society and was especially favoured by the martial tribes. This custom was not prevalent in the Vedic times and is a remnant of the Puranic Age. The root cause of this custom was that widows suffered a good deal after the death of their husbands and so naturally they preferred death to life. Deberuni says that a widow had to choose between two alternatives, viz, remaining a widow all her life or burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead-husband.² She usually chose the latter alternative.

This custom was observed on five occasions: (a) After the death of their husbands, some women would fall into swoon under the pressure of sorrow and pain and then the relatives of the deceased would throw them alive in the fire. (b) Some, out of true love of their husbands, would throw themselves alive in the fire. (c) There were others who could die such a death only for fear of worldly shame for they knew that they would pass a miserable life. (d) Some were only burnt under the miserable force of custom. Sometimes those widows, who wanted to survive their husbands, were forced by the Brahmans who used to bury them alive, by slow degrees up to the throat; then two or three of them would suddenly fall upon the victim, wrung her neck and when she had been effectually and completely choked, covered over the body with earth thrown upon it from successive baskets, and trod upon the head. (e) There were others who were burnt by the heirs of her husband.

The evil custom of 'Sati' was only prevalent amongst the Hindūs. It was common but not compulsory. During the Muslim rule it could not be performed except under the Sultān's consent, which was absolutely indispensable "No woman can sacrifice herself without permission from the Governor of the province in which

¹ *I' Jaz-i-Khusravi*—Amir Khusrau (Lucknow-1875), pp. 106-113.
The Qabusnāmā

Mutla-ul-Anwār—Amir Khusrau (Lucknow-1884), p. 151.

Kuliyat-i-Khusravi—Amir Khusrau (B.M.), p. 313.

² *Mediaeval Indian Culture*—Srivastava, p. 23.

she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose."¹ According to Ibn-Battutā, "The self-burning of widows is considered praise-worthy by the Hindūs, without, however, being obligatory. When a widow burns herself, her kinsfolk acquire glory and her faithfulness is highly esteemed. If she does not burn herself she puts on coarse clothes and lives with her relatives as one who is despised for faithlessness. But she is not compelled to burn herself."²

Muhammad Tughluq was the first Muslim king who raised his voice against this abominable practice of burning a living widow with her dead husband and tried to suppress. "The Brahmans encourage and promote these gross errors and superstitions to which they are indebted for their wealth and consequence."³ This practice in its simplest form meant nothing more than to throw oneself alive in the fire after having put on the best possible attire and ornaments. After the death of the husband, this custom was thought to be a test to judge the loyalty and faithfulness of his wife. The ceremony was well celebrated and performed with great pomp and show.

This practice, which was prevalent in the Panjāb, in the fourteenth century, cannot be better explained than by Ibn-Battutā who witnessed the ugly scenes of such performance in the province of Multān in 1342, while he was passing through the province. Ibn-Battutā writes "After some time it so happened that I was once stopping in a town called Amjeri (near Multān). Most of the inhabitants were infidels⁴ while the Governor of the town was a Muslim of the Samira tribe. Near the town there were infidel rebels. One day they carried out some robbery on the highway and the 'amir' went out to fight them—a furious fight took place in which seven of the infidel subjects were killed. Three of them had three respective wives. Their widows agreed to burn themselves."

"When the three aforesaid widows had agreed to burn themselves they passed three days preceding the burning, eating and drinking amidst music and joys as if they wished to bid the world farewell. Women came from all parts to see them. In the morning of the fourth day each was brought a horse which she mounted—adorned and perfumed. In her right hand each held a coco-nut with which she played; and in the left a mirror in which she saw her face. The Brahmans stood around her, and her relatives accompanied her. In front, drums and bugles were played and timbals were beaten. Each of the infidels then spoke to her thus,

¹ *History of the Great Rebellion*—Bernier, p. 306.

² *The Rehla-Ibn-Battutā-Mahdi Hussain*, p. 22.

³ *J.A.S.B.*-Vol. I, (1935), p. 260.

History of the Great Rebellion—Bernier, p. 305.

⁴ The Hindus

'Give my greetings to my father or my brother or my mother or my companion' and the widow replied smiling, 'I shall.'

"I mounted horse with my companions so as to see how these women would behave during the burning ceremony. We walked with them about three miles and came to a dark spot with abundant water and trees shaded by thick foliage. In the midst of the trees stood four pavilions each containing a stone idol. Between the pavilions lay a cistern of water completely shaded by trees with their locking branches through which the sun's rays could not pass. It was as if this spot was one of the valleys of hell; may God keep us far from it."

"When I came to these pavilions the three women dismounted near the cistern, plunged in, removed their clothes and ornaments and gave these away as alms (to the Brahmans). Then each of them was brought a coarse cotton cloth which was unsewn, part of which they tied round their waist and part over their head and shoulders. Mean-while, fires had been lit near the cistern in a sunken spot, and the 'kunjod' oil—that is the oil of sesame—was poured intensifying the fury of the flames. There were about fifteen men holding thin wooden faggots, and ten others with large poles. The drum and bugle players stood waiting for the widow to come. The fire was hidden from her view by a blanket held by the men, so that the women should not be afraid. I saw one of these women come up to the blanket, tear it from the hands of those holding it and say smiling the following words 'Do you want to frighten me with the fire? I know that it is fire; let me be.' Then she put her hands together over her head as if to salute the fire and threw herself in headlong. At that instant drums, timbals and bugles sounded and the men threw on her the wood they carried. Others placed poles over her lest she should move. Shouts went up and the noise augmented considerably. On beholding this scene I would have fallen from my horse, had not my companions brought water which they threw over my face and so restored me."¹

The old custom of religious suicide by the Hindūs continued during the period of the Sultānate. It was considered a great religious merit to commit suicide at certain sacred places such as Prāyāg and Kāshi. Hindū devotees would cut off their limbs or their necks with sharp swords in fulfilment of their vows before their deities. A multitude was immediately assembled round her dwelling and person; clamour and precipitancy succeeded, no time was permitted for reflection; honour, shame, and duty all then combined to strengthen her bloody resolution and the scheme is hurried through and closed.²

Guru Nanak (1469-1538) had emphatically raised his voice and preached against this detestable practice among the Hindūs :

¹ *The Rehla—Ibn-Battutā-Mahdi Hussain*, pp. 21-23.

² *History of the Great Rebellion—Bernier*, pp. 306-315.

“A ‘Sati’ is not she who burneth herself
on the pyre of her spouse ;

Nanak : a ‘Sati’ is she who dieth with
the sheer shock of separation”¹

Guru Amar Das prohibited the practice of ‘Sati’ among his followers by persuasion. Akbar had also prohibited this cursed practice, he was, however, unable to eradicate it completely.²

6. DRESS

The Sultāns, the nobles and all the inmates of the royal palace wore costly clothes of good quality. In the town various kinds of costumes and dresses were seen. The dresses of the Muslim nobility consisted of a ‘Kulā’ or head dress, a tunic, worked in brocade and long drawers. On the official occasions the Sultāns wore a four cornered head dress, embroidered with gold thread and studded with jewels, long Tataric gowns and ‘Qabā’ all buckled in the middle of the body. For the winter the ‘Qabā’ was stuffed with cotton and was called ‘Dagdā’. The Hindū aristocracy dressed like the Muslim aristocracy except that in place of ‘Kulā’ they used a turban and in place of long drawers they wore ‘Dhōti’ trimmed with gold lace. The Muslims dressed heavily but the Hindūs were scantily dressed. The Hindūs shaved their beard.³ The dresses and clothes of both the communities again differed with different classes in the same way as houses and other dwellings and displayed almost the same diversity of design and decorative art. The only uniformity, if there was any, was among the peasants and the poorest classes, and it chiefly consisted in reducing the requirements of clothing to the minimum.

Religious groups of the Hindūs and the Muslims put on various types of clothes. The orthodox Muslims wore clothes of simple material like linen ; they put on a long turban or a tall ‘darwesh’ cap, loose gowns and wooden sandals. The Hindū ascetics wore a simple loin cloth or wrapped a sheet of unsewn cloth round the waist. The learned people wore the Syrian Jubbā and the Egyptian ‘Dastār’. A single ‘Dhōti’ was considered a sufficient and respectable dress by the Hindūs. In the villages the peasants put on sometimes only a loin (langoti) cloth, which Bābar has described in his Memoirs in detail.⁴

There was no uniform dress for the mystics (‘Sufis’, ‘Sādhus’ and ‘Jogis’) of either sex. The more demonstrative ones carried a

¹ *Adi Granth*—Suhi Ki Var, p. 787.

² *Akbar the Great Mughal*—V. A. Smith, pp. 131-138.

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Shams Siraj, Afif, p. 263.

Ibid—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 273-275.

⁴ *Bābarnāmā*—Vol. II, Beveridge, p. 519.

Studies in Mediaeval Indian History—Nizāmi, p. 90.

deerskin for a robe, but the noble spirits disclaimed such ostentations and variety.¹ Some of these ascetics contented themselves with a simple loin-cloth ('langotā') and a dried gourd to supply all their needs of clothing and other necessities. Others who conformed to the rules of their order usually shaved their heads, put heavy rings in their ears, carried a deer horn and besmeared themselves with ashes. A few added to their equipment such prescribed articles as an ochre robes, a 'chakra', a trident, a rosary, a necklace of Jujubes, wooden sandals, and umbrella, a deer skin, a begging bowl. But the followers of Guru Nānak (The Sikhs) had discarded those characteristics, and wore an ordinary dress like other worldly people.²

There were usually two varieties of the women's dress. One consisted of a long 'Chadar' or a sheet of cloth, differing little from the modern 'Sāri', a bodice with long sleeves and a brazier ('angiyā') for grown up maidens and married women. The Muslim women of the upper families usually wore shoes made of leather, ornamented with gold and silk. Women all over the province wore all kinds of ornaments, the rich of gold and the poor of silver. Very few Hindū women of lower classes wore gold ornaments.

Dresses in the Panjāb have undergone numerous changes, yet the older male and female dresses have survived to our own times, both among the Hindūs and the Muslims.³ Right from the Sultāns and the nobles to the man in the street, the Muslims had thoroughly been Panjābinized. The costly regal dresses, the gilded and studded swords and daggers, the parasols (chatries) of various colours were all typically the Panjābi paraphernalia of royal pomp and splendour.

7. ORNAMENTS

The use of varied and profuse jewellery for extra ornamentation was in vogue. The art of jewellery had attained a high standard during the ancient period, as jewels and ornaments were coveted and worn by the Hindūs, both men and women, since the earliest times. The "kamarband", an ornament for the waist, was commonly used by both the sexes. For the rest, it may be mentioned that almost every part of the body on which some or the other ornaments could possibly be fixed or hung, was fittingly adorned. Anklets, bracelets and armlets revelled necklaces, collars and girdles, since the former added to the masculine vigour. The nose ring is a Muslim contribution to the Panjābi women's face orna-

¹ *Chaitannya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*—J.N. Sarkar, p. 114.

² *Journal of the Department of Letters*—Calcutta University (1927), p. 114.

The Sikh Religion—Vol. I, Macauliffe, pp. 30-31, 94.

³ *J.A.S.B.*—Vol. I, (1935), p. 275.

The Splendour that was 'Ind', p. 107.

ments. The Muslim women made ear rings much lighter but more brilliant and valuable. The use of 'Hennā' (*lawsonia alba*) to colour the palms, nails and finger tips of hands as well as soles of feet of women had become very common. The use of rings, necklaces, ear rings and other ornaments by men was also due to Panjābi influence because the Muslims were forbidden to wear these under the law of their religion.¹ However, the contemporary travellers and the chroniclers have clearly shown that the people during this period wore rings, set with precious stones, as well as many ear rings set with fine pearls and they anointed themselves after bath with white sandal wood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron.

The rich and respectable persons successfully employed all sorts of devices, such as the use of 'Khizāb' for looking young even at the age of sixty. The dressing of hair, the combing of beards, the use of scents, oils and excellent dresses enhanced their beauty. The requirements of bath, particularly among the Hindūs, were very elaborate and various kinds of oils were rubbed on the body before bathing. Most of their time was, therefore, spent in beautifying their persons. Antimony for eyes, vermilion for effecting the parting of hair, musk for breasts, a certain black powder for eyebrows, dentifrice for teeth, and betel leaves for reddening lips and sweetening breath were some of the prominent articles of enhancing beauty.²

8. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Among the Hindūs, there was a rigidity of caste distinctions. They condoned the inter-caste marriages of the three upper classes in general terms. They also always hated the Sudrās. The status of the Brahmans was high and they commanded a great respect among the other three castes due to their superior claim among the four castes. The old customs of religious suicide to achieve salvation continued during the Sultānate period among the Hindūs and this type of suicide was committed either by starvation or by cutting of limbs from the body for being devoured by birds and so forth. The ancient ritual or pilgrimages to the sacred places popularly known as the 'tirathās' were very popular. There were many such places of pilgrimages in the Panjāb, the most important among those being Mahāmāi of Kāngrā, Jawālā Mukhi, Thānesar, Pihōwā and Multān. Among the Muslim travellers and the historians, Ibn-Battutā noticed pilgrimage to the Ganga as a peculiar Panjābi custom.

The worship of the bull is often mentioned by the contemporary historians. The cow was always much respected by the

¹ J. A. S. B.—Vol. I, Ashraf (1935), p. 277 N 2.

² *Matlā-ul-Anwār*—Amir Khusrau (Lucknow-1884), p. 200.

Cambridge History of India—Vol. III, p. 549.

I, jāz-i-Khusravi—Vol. II, Amir Khusrau, p. 314.

Hindūs. The veneration of the cow was universal among the Hindūs of all parts of India. The sentiment of veneration for the cow was extended to other animals also, and a long list of penances was given for killing different kinds of birds to say nothing of animals.¹ However, the animals were sacrificed with the recitation of the Vedic texts in honour of the bridegroom, the guests and the ancestors."²

There were some political customs among the Hindū Rājās. If a Hindū chief was defeated by his enemy more than once, it was the tradition among the ancient Hindū chiefs to abdicate the throne for the next heir. "It is said that, in those days a custom prevailed among the Hindūs, that whatever Rājā was twice overpowered by strangers, became disqualified to reign. Jaipāl, in compliance with this custom resigned his crown to his son; and having ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, he set fire to it with his own hands, and perished therein."³ It happened in 1001 when Rājā Jaipāl was defeated by Mahmūd and he could not withstand the insult of his repeated defeats from his enemies.

As regards the manners and the customs of the Muslims a rapid de-Turkinization was observable. It did not take long time to shed their Turkish mannerism and adopt Irānian and even Indiānised names, such as Chajju, Makhan and Hamidraja etc. Chewing the betel leaf, a peculiarly Indian habit, found its way early among the Muslim nobles. This custom has been described by Ziā-ud-dīn Barani in the reign of Balban.⁴ Under the Tughluqs, Ibn-Battutā noticed another custom of the Panjāb of offering the 'birā' of pan to the bride as a part of the marriage ceremony.⁵ In daily conversation, Panjābi terms, inevitably seemed to find a place. Ziā-ud-dīn Barani consistently used the Panjābi word 'barkha' for the rainy season.⁶ Following the Hindū customs then prevalent among the Hindūs of the Panjab, Ferōze Tughluq earned piety and gratitude by providing funds to pay for the marriage dowry of the Muslim girls.⁷ Among the new converts from Hinduism, caste prejudices tended to find new applications in having the separate grave-yards.⁸

¹ *Mediaeval Indian Culture*—Srivastava, p. 25.

² *Parasarā Mādhav*—Vol. III, pp. 6172, 393.

Parāsara Mādhav—Vol. I, p. 112.

Yajñavalkya—Vol. III, pp. 263-264.

Bṛhaddharmā Purān—Vol. II, 63 lb.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 38.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, pp. 170-173.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, p. 140.

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, pp. 116-117.

⁶ *Rehlā-Ibn-Battutā*—Def. et. Sang—Vol. III, p. 277.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-dīn Barani, p. 117.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Aḥf, pp. 350-352.
History of India—Vol. III, E & D, p. 59.

The system of paying debts was the custom of an indigenous banker. Whenever any noble of the state owed some debt to any man and did not pay it, the man went to the Sultān and stood at his door. When his debtor came to see the Sultān, the creditor cried aloud with the name of the Sultān. He made his debtor swear by his own head that either he should pay his debt or he should not go inside the palace. The debtor being helpless either paid his debt or promised to pay it on a certain date.

The moral standard of the people was high. It was an invariable practice for people to pay off their debts without going to court of law. If the debtor could not pay it off in his life time he enjoined it upon his sons and grandsons to pay it off without the least hesitation. The people in general were superstitious and had great faith in owning lucky stars, auspicious and inauspicious moments, days, etc.

9. AMUSEMENTS AND SPORTS

During the Sultānate period the means of amusements and recreation were not as many as we have today. The cinemas, the movies, the games like football, hockey, cricket, rugby, volleyball, basketball, and so many other modern games were not in vogue. Going on picnics, sight-seeing, mountaineering and skating are the diversions of modern times. Today many well-off people can go four thousand miles away from their homes for recreation. But the nobles and other amusement-seekers of the Sultānate period could not avail of such privileges. The amusements and sports of the modern age are undoubtedly new to the people, as compared with those days. There did not exist any well-organised system of education, nor were there any schools and colleges where instructors of sports could be employed or competitions in sports held. Modern amusements can rightly be described as new dolls in new garments.

Amusements and recreations had a high place in the Panjāb during the Sultānate period. These were based on the traditions which the people had inherited from their predecessors. A taste for chess (shatranj) and gambling (qamārbāzi) was probably an earlier acquisition, 'chaupar', a game played with dice or cowries on a piece of cloth spread cross-wise said to have been of the Panjāb origin, seems to have found favour with the common folk as well as with the aristocracy. The game of 'chaughān', a kind of polo, was also played with much interest. Qutab-ud-Din Aibak died of falling from the horse at Lāhore while playing 'chaughān'.

The Muslim nobility combined amusement with military exercises in hunting excursions. Wine was almost an indispensable constituent of gaiety. Holding of convivial parties with friends was considered almost a convention. The sultāns and the nobles also patronised music and dancing which were considered great sources of amusement. Musicians and dancing girls were employed in a

large number to make the show all the more lively. The common musical instruments were flutes, drums, stringed instruments and trumpets. Music and dancing girls were means of diversion which, as time went on, became indispensable like wine. Firstly, these means were occasionally employed, but subsequently they were turned into conventional court practices. The employment of professional performers and courtesans seems to have developed in the Panjāb, for in Central Asia and even in the Arabian countries, professional musicians of the female sex were a rare social phenomenon. Dancing was more popular than it is today. The Cult of Krishna greatly stimulated it, and men and women danced together, sometimes with bells tied to their feet. The Afghāns had also not yet forgotten their folk dance and usually celebrated events of national importance by performing their customary dance with great enthusiasm and gusto.¹

Music and dance were the important amusements of the rich and the poor. Amir Khusrau, who was himself a renowned musician, gives interesting details about contemporary musicians. He says that the interesting Khiljis were great patrons of music.² Though we do not have much material pertaining to the prevalence of fine arts like music and dance, yet we have definite references from the contemporary historians that these were greatly appreciated in almost every city, viz., Dipālpur, Sāmāna, Sunām, Sirhind, Jullundur, Shivālik Hill towns, Lāhore and Multān. With the exception of a few, all the Sultāns were fond of drinking, merry-making, keeping concubines and many dancers. Their fashions and likings were always followed by the nobles as well as by the commoners. According to Qureshi, "The Sultānate was by no means a less enthusiastic patron of art and letters; it deserves the title of a culture-state just as much as the empire of the Great Mughals."³

Hunting, chariot racing, pigeon flying, gladiatorial combats were among the popular out-door sports and amusements. The 'chandā-mandal', another popular out-door pastime, was later on very much popularised by the Great Mughals among the people. Qamargāhs, which were the hunting-rings formed to enclose the game in a grand royal chase, were equally important amusements of the rich people, as the region was full of dense jungles and the game was found in abundance in every part of the Panjāb. There were well-known hunting grounds in the vicinity of Sirhind, Māchhiwāra, Bājwāra, Kāhnuwān, Lāhore, Lakhhi Jungle, Dipālpur, and Sāmāna. In many of these sports, women joined their men-folk in multitude.⁴

¹ *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhi*—Abbās Khān Shervāni, F. 48-b.

² *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*,—Ziā-ud-Din Barani, pp. 128-129, 188-200.

³ *The Administration of Sultānate of Delhi*—Qureshi, p. 177.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 188-200.

Tārikh-i-Farishā—Briggs, Vol. I, p. 184.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, p. 249.

There were many acrobats, mountebanks and jugglers who performed their tricks with and without the aid of instruments and animals. These acrobats were of a very old tradition in the Panjāb and the performers were expert in their art. It had become a hobby with every Muslim noble or a Hindu chief to employ a few acrobats to amuse themselves and their guests. The common and lowly performers earned a modest living by making bears dance in market places, or by making monkeys dance to various measures. The tight rope-walker and the popular performances of the time were mōrchāl or ropetrick and mango-trick. The snake-charmer was quite as busy in his trade as he is today. Cock-fighting and ram-fighting were reserved for special occasions and were popular with people of all classes.

The mountebanks and professional jesters employed by the chiefs used to employ all sorts of tricks and antics, witticisms and gestures to provoke laughter and to amuse their audiences. Some of these jesters wore comic masks and gave amusing surprises to the party. At other times, they caricatured the popular courtiers and other lackeys and suffered indignities and beating or snubbing in order to create an effect. On the whole, the standard of humour as maintained by these jesters and clowns was not very high and their behaviour was very scandalous in the eyes of the punctilious people.

Among the means of recreative sports there was parkaudi, a rough sort of prisoners' base. This was played by villagers, often in competition, by teams selected and represented by the various villages. There was also mugdar-bāzi i.e. lifting of heavy weights. Mungali pherna, the waving of heavy clubs, or throwing a stone, were other popular amusements. Vini-pakarna was also an interesting amusement which is a kind of wrestling in which contestants seized each other by the wrist only. Sammi, luddi, bhangrā and dhamāl were the popular dances of the rural people, which were practised usually at weddings. Tent-pegging (nezā-bāzi) and lime-cutting were performed to a considerable extent in some parts of the region. The rich rural people used to go in a good deal for hiking and sometimes for shooting. 'Kōtla-chhapāki' resembled 'hunt and slipper', but in this game, unlike the 'hunt and slipper' all stood in a circle. 'Chicho-chich kadōlian' was a curious game which, if played, would often make the boys good tracers. 'Ghoritappa' (leap frog) was also played. 'Guli-dandā' was a very popular amusement for the village folk.

The Panjābis have always been very fond of sports. Two important aspects of the social life of this period were 'razm and bazm' i.e. warfare and social intercourse respectively. Normally, every man was expected to be an active soldier capable of doing military duty in times of war. Panjābis always had to bear the brunt of invaders. But during the times of peace the people of the Panjāb indulged in pleasures, pastimes and recreative sports. After

a long day's toil, the villagers used to come out of the village and assemble at a common place where the all young men participated in all sorts of sports. It was in this arena where all the Hindu and Muslim youths would embrace themselves and jump into the arena in a team spirit. It was here that all people lived like real brothers and sisters, forgetting all differences of communal conflicts created by the urbanites for their own ends.

10. SLAVERY

The slaves were an integral part of the Sultānate household and played an important part in the administration of the country. The Sultāns had inherited the practice of recruiting the slaves from the Abbāsids who were the first Muslim dynasty to employ large numbers of Turkish slaves. The system of recruiting slaves by the Sultāns had otherwise certain obvious advantages. Each slave had to struggle for promotion, and usually rose by sheer merit. The Muslim slaves climbed from the lowest rungs of the ladder thus gaining invaluable experience the very buffets of fortune made them strong and hardy. Besides, there was a personal tie between the Sultān and the slave which was sanctified by sentiment and custom for slaves were treated kindly and were considered as members of the family. They were well provided for, and they even inherited their master's property. But all these privileges were only available and applicable to the foreign Muslim slaves. The Indian slaves could not enjoy such privileges, even though they were converted to Islām.¹

Slavery was fairly common during the period of our study. Ibn-Battutā refers to the acquisition of slave girls in lots, and their distribution as ordinary gifts. There were regular markets of sale of people in Irān, and other Muslim countries where the men, women and children were publicly sold like chattel on very cheap rates. From the first invasion on the Panjāb of Maḥmūd of Ghazni down to the invasion of Taimūr, for three hundred years the people of the Panjab (the women and children in majority) who were taken prisoners by the invaders had been sold on very cheap rates. The Muslims took delight in enslaving Hindū women, en masse from the highest to the lowest ranks. Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughluq made free gifts of slave-women to his relations and the nobility, and sent many as presents to the Chinese Emperor.² Female slaves were of two kinds, those employed for domestic and menial work, and those who were bought up for company and pleasure. The former, wanting in education and skill and bought expressly for rough domestic work were often

¹ *Fatwā-i-Jahāndāri*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, FF. 71-72.

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 132.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. III, B. De., p. 597.

Rehlā-Ibn-Battutā—M. Hussain, pp. 63, 151.

subjected to all sorts of indignities; the latter had a more honourable and sometimes even a dominating position in the household.¹

After some time the employment of slaves became general and was by no means confined to Muslims alone. Hindu noblemen and chiefs began to employ slaves for military and domestic purpose. Even Muslim (the Sayyid) women were taken by the Rājputs and were turned into slave girls. They were taught the art of dancing and were made to join the 'Akhārās',² dancing halls.

The Smṛiti authorities of this period repeat the clauses of law relating to slavery in the older texts under familiar head of law called non-rendition of service after making a contact to serve or obey.³ Slavery was in existence among the Hindūs also. The continuance of the institution of slave dancing girls in the service of Thānesar, Kāngrā and Jawālāmukhi temples is evidenced both from the inscriptions and foreigners.⁴

However, the position of Muslim slaves was better. Among them it was a matter of pride to be the slaves of a great man. In the Panjāb, for the indigenous society slavery could in no context be a matter of pride. Among Muslims slaves of kings or noblemen were looked upon as their followers. Many among them having the advantage of a high education and comely appearance quickly won the confidence and affection of their masters and rose to the highest posts in their service. Among the followers Shihāb-ud-din Muhammad Ghōri, Tāj-ud-din Yildūz, Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā had regal authority and after their death, they founded independent kingdoms in their respective spheres. Altutmish and Balban had also risen to royal dignity from the ranks of slaves. But in the Hindū society a free man always commanded higher respect than a slave while among the Muslims there have been many slaves who commanded more respect than a free man.

There were regular and bonafide markets for the sale and the purchase of the slaves all over the province. It is evident that the slave-dealers were always on the look out to provide handsome and intelligent boys and girls whom they gave a good education and imparted training in music, dancing, painting and the use of arms. They made them so polished and urbane that they could easily win the hearts of their masters. Such slaves fetched a high price during their youth, and their owners made huge profits.⁵

¹ *I' Jaz-i-Khusravi*—Vol. IV—Amir Khusrau (1875-76) pp. 334, 169-170.

² *Rehlā-Ibn-Battutā*—M. Hussain (1953), pp. 63-151.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. III, p. 597.

³ *Parāsar Mādhavā*—Vol. II, F. 238

⁴ *Mediaeval Indian Culture*—Srivastava, pp. 24-25.

⁵ *History of India*—Vol. III, E and D, pp. 340-341.

Tārīkh-i-Farīshīdā—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 200.

J. A. S. B.—Vol. I (1935), pp. 150-151, 187.

11. MARRIAGES

Before the marriage ceremony took place, men used to become partisans either with the bridegroom or with bride. When the bridegroom party went to the house of the bride, they were to confront with the bride's party ready to fight out. The bride's party prevented the bridegroom from entering the house of the former. If the latter was overcome by the former, he retired to his house and the bond was dissolved, otherwise he was well regarded and the marriage ceremony was performed with great rejoicing. The bridegroom wore an ornament like the crown decorated with flowers. After the marriage, the bridegroom travelled back on the horse with the bride in palanquin with the dowry given.

At present we have no custom like this. Such customs could only be practised in the age of chivalry. Among the Hindūs the marriages were forbidden on the ground of sameness of 'gotrās' (sub-caste) and family relationship between the parties to the match. The girl's parents used to take the initiative and chose a suitable match outside the four nearest 'gotrās'. Dhaighor Khatries, Brahmans and Aggarwāl Baniās married into any 'gotrās' but their own.

For the Hindūs the Smritis had enjoined upon guardians of girls, under severe moral and spiritual sanctions, the obligation of giving them away in marriage before puberty, the age of the girls being specifically stated to be seven, ten or at the most twelve years. In the event of a girl failing from various causes to get herself married before puberty the Hindu codes permitted her the privilege of self choice 'svayamvar' of her husband after a short or long period of probation. The eight forms of marriage known to the ancient Smritis, along with their estimate of the comparative merits and demerits of the same, are given by the authors.

The re-marriage of girls, who were forbidden in the Kālī age were now allowed to remarry. Marriages by exchange (Battā) were often much complicated, involving a large number of couples. But such exchange marriages were quite common among both the communities and this practice is in vogue even now. They were looked on with disfavour and were condemned. "Exchange betrothals are the substitution of a divorced woman for a bald one."¹

There were various ceremonies connected with marriage, but those ceremonies differed with little variance from district to district and from tribe to tribe. A stage was reached in marriage negotiations when the parties agreed to wedding of children. The agreement was celebrated with suitable ceremonies and was called 'tilak' or 'mangni' i. e. betrothal ceremony. All sort of sober and

¹ Batterdi-Kuramāi-Ganj Gai talākani.

humorous rites and numerous superstitious ceremonies filled the programme of the bride and the bridegroom. The rest of the ceremonies were of a propitiatory and secondary nature. These wedding festivities lasted for any number of days according to the means of the brides' people and according to their mutual arrangements. The minimum stay for the bride-grooms' party was fixed for a day and the maximum for ten days.¹

Among the Muslims, these ceremonies were less complex. The Muslim marriages seldom took place in Ramzān, the Maharam or Shabān. 'Muklāwa' was only confined to the lower classes. In towns expenditure on weddings used to reach the highest extravagance.

The richer Hindūs only married a second wife if the first was barren. Among the Muslims bigamy was slightly more common. Avowed polyandry was unknown. Remarriage of widows was common among all Muslims, except Sayyids, Pathāns and Rājputs. It was strictly forbidden among the high caste Hindūs and involved excommunication. Among the Jāts, a widow generally married her husband's brother. Divorce was common in the hills.

12. FOOD

The wheat which was the staple food has ever been the popular food of the Panjābis. The contemporary historians give very interesting data of the food articles of those days such as the cereals, fruit and vegetable. In addition to wheat other cereals were peas, lintels, 'mash, 'lobiya' and sesame. Rice was also eaten by the people but in a different preparation than the people of other provinces of India. The Panjābis used to take rice with molasses or cooked in milk. All kinds of pulses, millet, ginger, mustard, onion, quash, hemp brinjals and vegetable of many kinds were grown abundantly in the Panjāb during the period under our study.² Wheat baked (roti) and fried (puri), was eaten with 'dāl', meat and vegetable curries. Chapatis were cooked in the 'tandūrs' (Ovens), which are even now very common throughout the province, and Chulhās in every house of the rich and the poor.

The abundance of public bakeries, where almost every kind of cooked food and raw victuals could be had at reasonable prices, was an important feature of mediaeval social life in the Panjāb. This feature faded away with the passage of time, but it remained in vogue in certain parts of the province where the Muslims constituted the bulk of the population. Their existence was opposed to the cooking and eating ideas of the Hindūs, who attached peculiar sanctity to their 'chaukās'.³ Their kitchen floor was plastered with

¹ *Kuliyāt-i-Khusrau—Amir Khusrau—(B.M.), p. 370.*
Journal of the Department of Letters—Calcutta University (1927),
pp 33.

² *J A S S. (1895), p. 531.*
History of India—Vol. III, E&D, p. 583

³ *Kh ab-Subhā-ul—Ashā-Qaiqashnidi, p. 56.*

cowdung, and none but they and their equals could have free access to it after duly purifying their persons.¹ Their intricate arrangements of cooking and eating have survived to our own times, though these have lost much of their force under the influence of Sikhism which denounces caste restrictions and preaches equality.

Other dishes were churned curd, 'khajur' (dates) meat, and meat soup (ash). 'parauthā' 'halwā' and harisa, were common with the Muslim nobility and the Hindū aristocracy. Muslims were generally meat-eaters and mostly ate the flesh of cow and goat though they had many sheep, because they had become accustomed to it.² The cost for slaughtering a cow was one and a half tanaks, while fowls, pigeons and other birds were sold at very cheap rates.³ The Hindūs were mainly vegetarians. Of the vegetables, mentioned in the chronicles were cucumber, pumpkin, various kinds of green leaves, jackfruit, 'karelā', turnip, carrot, asparagus, ginger, garden beet, onion, garlic, fennel and 'thyme.'⁴ Vegetables were cooked and fried with various kinds of condiments and 'ghee.' A great number of pickles (achāras) were added to the menu. Pickles were prepared from green mangoes as well as ginger and chillies.⁵

The fruit was also in abundance such as apples, grapes, pears and pomegranates.⁶ Melons, green and yellow ('turbūz' and 'kharbooza') were also very common.⁷ Orange citran lemon, lime, dates and figs were all available. Sugarcane was grown abundantly. Mango was then as now the most favourite fruit of the people of the Panjāb. Sweet meats of as many as sixty-five kinds were popular with the people of the Panjāb during the Sultānate period.

13. DRINKS

The rainy water was collected in large reservoirs (tanks, ponds) during the rainy season, from which the majority of the people of the rural areas used to take the drinking water. The rich people both Muslims and the Hindūs used to sink wells with the 'pucca' bricks for the drinking water and the commoners used to dig 'kanchā' wells, but in some parts of this province where the

¹ J.A.S.B.—Vol. I (1935), p. 284.

² *Kitāb-Subhā-ul-Ashā*—Qaiqashindi, p. 56.

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 315.
History of India—Vol. II, E&D, p. 585.

⁴ *Kitāb-Subhā-ul-Ashā*—Qaiqashindi, pp. 49-50.
Tārikh-i-Sulātin-i-Afāghanā—A. Yādgār, p. 59.
Siyār-ul-Auliya—Mir Khurd, p. 11
Ibn-Bāttutā—Mehdi Hussain, p. 17.

⁵ *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustān*—Ashraf, p. 283.
Ibn-Bāttutā—Mehdi Hussain, p. 16.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Sulātin-i-Afāghanā*—A. Yādgār, pp. 50-52.
Siyār-ul-Auliya—Mir Khurd, p. 313.

⁷ *Tārikh-i-Sulātin-i-Afāghanā*—A. Yādgār, p. 51.
Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Shams Sirāj Afif, pp. 295-296

water was very deep the people used to bring drinking water from the rivers and the streams. In the summer season water was cooled in earthen pitchers. Ice was unknown even for the Sultāns and the nobility. 'Sharvat' was in vogue. It was so popular that the Sultāns or the nobles used to arrange for free distribution of sweets and 'sharvat' among the people on festive occasions or whenever the victory was celebrated.

Wine, though prohibited by the Hindū 'Shastras' and the Muslim religion, was drunk freely by those who had liking for it. Islām prohibits the use of intoxicants, particularly, liquor, but in defiance of the Qarānic prohibition, upper class Muslims were intemperate and fond of wine. The religious men too were not free from this evil. Wine parties were frequently held by the nobility. The Afghāns were addicted to opium and poppy seeds drink. Women too were used to drink.

Muslims used to dine together, often out of the same plate, and always on the same table. Inter dining facilitated arrangements for high dinners where a thousand people could eat not only at the mansions of the aristocrats, but also in the 'Khānqās' of the Muslim saints. This custom certainly developed feelings of brotherhood and equality among the Muslims and up to this day that custom has become a regular practice.¹

The Hindūs did not like to dine together like the Muslims. Brahmans generally did not eat meat and they also avoided to use onions and garlic. The Hindūs did not patronise inter dining nor did they practise it. This attitude had permeated into other castes also. With the coming of the Muslims, an inter-dining had become a hobby, but this custom did not affect the sense of hospitality of the Hindūs which was proverbial. The Hindūs did not dine with the Muslims.

14. BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The superstitions of the people of the Panjāb were very numerous and complex. Among the masses in the Panjāb most of the deaths of children were ascribed primarily to the effect of the evil eye or the influence of some evil spirit. Spiritual remedies were, therefore, sought before resorting to medical treatment. Bronchophenomenia was widely believed to be due to the child's being possessed by some spirit of the prematorium which could be driven away only by a spell, chiefly known to the sweepers, charmers, 'Faqīrs' and 'Sādhūs', who had a respectable place in the society. One of the anecdotes to the effect of the evil eye was to take three or seven chillies, wave round the head of the ailing child and throw them into the fire. If the chillies produced the usual pungent smell, the suspicion about the evil eye was unfounded, but if they left no smell the diagnosis was confirmed.

¹ *Rāhat-ul-Qalub*—Shaikh Nizām-ud-din Auliya, p. 9.

Amulets, the claws of a tiger, a bear, and an owl, or other similar articles were hung round the child's neck in a black thread to ward off evil influence and a black mark was usually made on the forehead every morning for the same purpose.

Sneezing was generally conducive to health but if frequent, it was taken as the prognosis of some ailment, such as cold, fever etc. Frequent sneezing was also sometimes attributed to the evil eye, and if the child sneezed just before sucking, it was considered ominous for the maternal uncle. Grinding of teeth augured some calamity to the parents or illness of the child. The remedy employed to stop the grinding of teeth was to put in the mouth of the child, while he/she was asleep, some dust or sand usually taken from under the hinges of a door. A feather of the blue jay was sometimes tied round the neck or suspended from the ear of the such ailing children. Hiccough was taken as a mark of good appetite and sound health of the child. A child born with one or two teeth was considered unlucky for its parents and they were sometimes broken immediately after birth. An infant was not lifted above one's head until he/she was six months old. A son born after three girls was called 'trikhal', and was considered to be unlucky for the parents. Many devices were adopted to make the child auspicious.

There were other superstitions of a similar nature. For instance, a boy or girl with a 'nāgan'¹ on the forehead or back was considered destructive to the mother-in-law and so was a girl with dimpled cheeks. If the soles of a girl's feet were not flat on the ground, she was sure to see her husband dead and a child who was born feet forward was unlucky for the mother. The conviction of masses in the efficiency of prayer worship and charms in nullifying the evil effects of such ill-omens was so deep rooted that for every one of the cases an anecdote was always forthcoming as in the case of 'trikhals', and consequently the necessity of getting an unlucky child out of the way seldom arose. Such beliefs, however, faded away from the people by and by, while some are still popular with the rural population.

There were, however, superstitions about lucky and unlucky days, to which great importance was attached in the day-to-day life by the rural people of the Panjāb. The third, eighth, thirteenth, twenty-third and twenty-eighth of the lunar month were generally known as 'gaddi days' when the earth was believed to be asleep and the peasant would not begin to plough, or sink a well, or hold a marriage on one of these days. Tuesday was a lucky day to begin to plough and Monday to begin to cut the harvest. The bride could not go to her father-in-law's on a Sunday. When a Persian-wheel at work uttered a sound like a shriek (kook) louder than its usual inharmonious screech, that was considered to

¹ A mark or a circle of hair shaped like a snake.

be an ill omen, and to avert disaster, the owner of the well sacrificed a sheep or goat and smeared the blood of its neck on the pivots of the well-machinery.

Other bad omens were for a cock to crow at early night or a hen at any time ; for a cow to bellow and a dog to bay. Those who had to travel were careful how to drink just before starting. If a man accosted any one on the road, he would be grateful if the reply could be 'Ji' and depressed if it could be 'Ho' or 'Ham'. To be shouted at from behind was always bad, or to be overtaken by funeral cortege if one was wearing one's best clothes. An agriculturist disliked meeting a Brahman in the early hours of the day.

It was considered to be very unlucky for a cow to calve in the month of 'Bhādon' (August-September), for a mare to drop a foal in 'Sāwan', (July-August) a buffalo to calve in 'Magh' or a dog to have pups in 'Chet'. To hear a horse neighing in the day time was taken unlucky. The Hindūs greatly disliked to have a child born in 'Katik'. It was considered unlucky to meet a Brahman, a Mullā, a man with a bare head, any person weeping, smoking fire, a crow flying towards one, a widowed woman, a broken-vessel in a person's hand, a cat, a gardener with an empty basket, a goat or a cow or any black animal, a snake or empty pitcher carried along, when one goes out for an auspicious occasion or a long journey.

15. FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

The fairs or the 'melās' were very common in the Panjāb, which were usually semi-religious gatherings. They were all connected with the Hindū or the Muslim shrines. An important feature of such fairs in this province was the making of offerings at the shrines, and the distribution of food from the free kitchen. The Muslim festivals of Id-ul-Fitr, Id-uz-Zuhā and Shab-i-Barāt were celebrated with great enthusiasm. Among these the festival of Shab-i-Barāt fell on the 14th day of Shabān. It professes to commemorate an appropriate legend of Islām, probably copied from the Hindū festival of Shivarātri, because the night vigil and fire-works are the elements common to both festivals. Some religious Muslims spent the whole night in offering special prayers and reading the Holy Qurān. Common people spent their time in merry-making. The distinguishing features of popular celebration were the extensive use of fire work and the illumination of homes and mosques.¹ The popular Irāni festival of Nauroze or spring festival was becoming more and more popular. It was usually celebrated in large gardens and river-side parks with music and flowers. On the whole its observance was confined to the upper classes of Muslims, but it had almost died out in the later period.² The Muha-

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Dāudi*—Abdullā (B.M.), pp. 104-105.

Hindu-Muhammedon Feasts—E.D. Ross, pp. 111-112.

² *I'jāz-i-Khusravī*—Vol. IV, Amir Khusrau, p. 330.

Kuliyāt-i-Khusravī—Amir Khusrau (B.M.), p. 18.

ram was observed in modest proportions. The orthodox and religious minded Muslims spent the first ten days of Muharram in reading the account of the martyrdom of the heroes of Karbalā and in offering special prayers for their spiritual benefit.¹

The Hindū festivals of Basant Panchami, corresponding to Nauroze, was a spring festival and was celebrated with great eclat. This festival was the harbinger of spring and occurred in the month of February (Māgh). It was conspicuous for the singing of songs, folk dances and the scattering of red powder. The Holi festival was observed in the month of March (Phāgan), which was celebrated by huge bon-fires, by popular songs and by usual scattering red powder, known as 'gulāi'.² Shivrātri was observed by the religious people with night vigil and prayers, and was celebrated with fire works by the common people. After the customary worship of the goddess Lakhshmi, people used to whirl round torches and burning sticks or fire brands. Diwāli, which is appropriately designated as 'the festival of lights' in some respect was most delightful and pleasing. Wick lamps were lighted in large number everywhere, inside and outside their homes and all over the temples and public buildings. The whole place looked like a flood of illumination. Everybody was anxious to divine his luck for the coming year. Gambling was universally resorted to as a magical means of tracing fortune.³ Dasehrā was a very popular festival which occurred on the tenth and the favourite Saivite goddess Durgā was worshipped. Purnamāsi, Rām Lilās and Krishna Lilās, concocting most familiar and popular events of the lives of Shri Krishnā and Rāma were attended by large crowds of all classes. There used to be many acrobats, mountebanks and jugglers, who performed their trick with or without the aid of instruments. Periodical fairs of both the communities were held at Pākpattan, Multān, Jawālāmukhi, Kurukshetrā and Nagāhā.⁴ A detailed account is given in Appendix-X where mention is made of fairs and festivals, which were generally celebrated during the period under our study by both the communities, at various shrines and temples.

¹ *I'jāz-i-Khusravi*—Vol. IV, Amir Khusrau, p. 328.

² *Hindu-Muhan.medon Feasts*—E.D. Ross, pp. 17-18, 75-77.

³ *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. II, Abul, Fazl Text, pp. 188-191.

⁴ *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. III, Jarrett-Sarkar, pp. 349-353.

Mediaeval Indian Culture—A.L. Srivastava, p. 30.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION, LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

The Sultāns were keenly interested in the promotion of learning. The most important function of the Sadr-i-Sadur¹ was to recommend men of learning and merit to the Sultāns for state stipends, so that they might devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge.² During the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazni there were many famous scholars and poets who adorned the Ghaznavid court. Some of them rose to great eminence and their fame remains undimmed even to this day.³ The successors of Mahmūd did not forget the great traditions of the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, and they also maintained brilliant and enlightened courts at Lāhore, Multān and Dipālpur which became famous as centres of Islāmic culture.

The Ghorides who were the successors of the Ghaznavids had inherited the tradition of learning from the Ghaznavids. Qutub-ud-din Aibak had attracted many poets, literati and jurists to his court, which earned him the title of 'Lakhabakhs' (the giver of lacs) by his generosity.⁴ His successors, Altutmish and Balban were great patrons of education and literature. Their courts had become the refuge for the learned, who were driven away from their homes by the Mongols. Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd, who himself was a man of scholarly disposition, had awarded a number of scholarships to the learned persons. Consequently, his court became a regular rendezvous of literary geniuses. During his reign there was a college at Jallandhar, wherein Balban, the Prime-Minister of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din and his followers offered their Id-uz-Zuhā prayers on their way back to Delhi from Lāhore.¹ This college was known as Dār-ul-Aloom-i-Nāsiriyyā, called after Sultān's name and Minhāj-us-Sirāj, the celebrated author of Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri was for sometime the Principal of this college and the superintendent of its vast endowments.²

When Prince Mahmūd was appointed the governor of Lāhore and Multān provinces, he brought with him all the learned men of

¹ Controller of religious endowments and cheritable grants.

² *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 580.

Masālik-ul-Absār-Abdul Rashid, (1943), p. 33.

³ *Masālik-ul-Absār*-Chapter IX, It gives a long list. *Chahār-Maqālā-Nizāmi*, Discourse II anecdote XVIII

⁴ *Promotion of Learning in India*-N. N. Law, p. 19.

⁵ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*-Vol. I, Raverty, pp. 678-679.

⁶ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*-Vol. I, Raverty, p. 667.

History of India-Vol. II. E and D, p. 344.

the royal court from Delhi to the Panjāb and his fame as a great patron of education and learning spread far and wide.¹ "His palace was the meeting place of his literary society, of which Amir Khusrau was the honoured president. There, the merits of the most prominent poets were discussed by the learned members and the Shāhnāmā, the Dewān-i-Khāqāni and the Dewān-i-Senāi were regularly recited."²

Hussain Shāh Langāh of Multān was a man of extra-ordinary learning and integrity. He patronised the prominent authors of the day magnificently, and during his time education received great encouragement. At his instance, several schools and seminars were started and staffed with talented teachers. Under the circumstances, his Prime-Minister was totally justified in boasting that "Multān under him, possessed a superior standard of education."³ Hussain Mirzā, the last of the Langāh line, also seems to have made valuable efforts for advancing education in the province of Multān. Among those attached to his court may be mentioned the names of at least two well known scholars; Sa'id-ullāh Lāhori, and Maulānā Abdur-Rahmān Jāmi. The latter was a poet of superb powers and singular endowments. He claimed a large number of learned men as his pupils.⁴

Julāl-ud-din Firoze Khilji was himself a poet, and his personal retinue contained men like the immortal Amir Khusrau. Alā-ud-din Khilji himself took pride in the brilliance of his court and the enlightenment of his people only for the Islāmic learning like other Sultāns of Delhi. Ghiyās-ud-din did not promote the secular mode of education and learning but he took personal interests in the scholarly people of his reign and was generous in helping them. Qutub-ud-din Mubārak Shāh could compose verses. He had enhanced the scholarships and emoluments granted to the learned, which had been curtailed in his father's time.⁵

Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was also generous towards scholars. Persian classics, Islāmic history, philosophy, Mathematics and Astronomy received great impetus during the reign of the Tughluqs. Ferōze Tughluq got repaired old colleges and established new ones.⁶ He put those institutions on a firm footing by making new grants of land to scholars and teachers, and also aid was given to poor students. There is no denying the fact that he got some Sanskrit works translated into Persian, but his liberality mainly

¹ *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir*—Hasan Nizāmi, F. 73b.

Tārīkh-i-Fakkr-ud-din—Mubārak Shah pp. 51-52.

² *History of India*—Vol. III. E and D, pp. 565, 109-110.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 46-47.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I. pp. 251-252, 258.

⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. IV, Briggs. pp. 385-432.

Promotion of Learning in India—N.N. Law, p. 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-Din Barani, p. 435.

History of India—Vol. III. E and D. p. 383.

remained confined to the Muslims literatures such as Arabic and Persian. He did not give any aid to the indigenous educational institutions, and the Hindūs could not get the benefit of the royal endowments and grants for the betterment of their children. The reign of Sikander Lodi, however, saw a renaissance of learning in every corner of his empire. "The Hindūs, who had generally held aloof from the new learning, now became apt pupils of the Muslims."¹ During the Sultānate period the colleges were free to manage their own affairs. Their sources of income were large endowments. The students were charged no fees and were supported by the colleges.

There was hardly any secular approach to education. The location of Muslim and Hindū schools in Mosques and temples respectively was enough to give a religious bias to education. Hindū scholars concentrated on the study of religious books like the Vedās, the Upnishads, the Epics and the other 'Shāstrās', besides logic, grammar and literature. The subjects of study in Muslim Schools likewise were of a religious nature. Great emphasis was laid on theological education.² Besides grammar, literature and logic, the other important subjects were Hadis,³ Fiqāh⁴ and Tafsir.⁵

During the Sultānate period, the standard of education was high although it was neither compulsory nor universal. Only those who had a keen desire to acquire knowledge used to join schools. There were no printing presses no text books and no digestive notes and guides like today. The students of those days devoted their full time to their studies. Lack of printed books and exercise books necessitated strenuous taxing of the memory. Grammar was the basis of study for languages, and there was no other short cut for acquiring mastery over it.

In the rural areas education was left to the religious authorities. Muslim schools were nearly connected with mosques, where the 'Qurān' was taught. They also imparted instruction in Persian classics. As a rule, an elementary school was attached to every mosque where reading and writing of Persian, besides instructions in the Qurān, were taught. Purely Hindū schools in the Panjāb were rare. There were either colleges in which Brahman boys learnt Sanskrit and received half religious, half professional instruction, or elementary schools where sons of the

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 344.

² *History and Culture of Indian People*—Vol. V (Bombay), p. 350

Tabqāt-i-Akbarī—Vol. I, p. 336.

Islamic Culture—Vol. XXX (1956), p. 110.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 427.

³ Tradition, particularly with regard to the sayings and actions of Muhammad.

⁴ Law and Divinity.

⁵ An interpretation of the Qurān.

Hindū shopkeepers were taught to keep accounts and to read and write the trader's script (Mahājani). The few Gūrmukhi schools which existed early in the sixteenth century were of a purely religious character. The best features of the then indigenous schools were that they were not confined to the religious and mercantile classes, but were also open to the few agriculturists who hardly cared to attend them. Instruction was under primitive conditions beneath the shade of large 'Pipal' or 'Banyan' tree in the courtyard of a temple or a mosque, or in the shed which constituted the assembly hall of the village community.¹

In the primary stage the curriculum comprised of reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. In the second and higher stages it included the various branches of knowledge like ethics, divinity, astronomy, the art of administration, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, physics, medicine, natural philosophy, rhetoric, law, ritual, accounts, agriculture, economics and history.

Before the advent of Islām in the Panjāb, knowledge was the monopoly of the favoured few, viz, the Brahman, who, partly from motives of self-aggrandizement and partly because they thought it would be of no use to cast pearls before the swine refused to impart education to the low-born.² However, with the advent of Islām, education became the birth right of every citizen, the Muslim and the Hindū, man and woman, the rich and the poor. The Hindūs also began to establish their own schools under the superintendence of the Brahmans and the 'Mahants'.³ "There was a separate department of the Sultānate which looked after the endowments created and set apart for the maintenance of religious and educational institutions. This department looked after the Hindū schools as well."⁴

For the Hindūs, their own national books were prescribed. They were taught on the same level with the Muslims and in their own culture. Though curriculum was not uniformly followed in the various Muslim schools in the Panjāb, yet most of the subjects enumerated above were taught to the students. The Hindūs had their own choice in the selection of their subjects in the Muslim schools, and received their education according to their own future aims and ambitions. It is also interesting to note here that vocational studies, such as agriculture and accountancy, were also embraced by the curriculum.⁵

1 *Tazkārā-i-Ulemā-i-Hind*—Rahmān Ali (1914). p. 48.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Badauni-Text, p. 53,

2 *Ancient Indian Education*—Kaye, pp. 68-69, 159.

3 Teachers of religious scriptures.

4 *The Tribune*—24-8-1935, Prof. Gulshan Rai.

5 *Promotion of Learning in India*—N.N. Law, pp. 161-162.

India and Her People—S. Abhedananda, pp. 188-189.

1. ARABIC

Arabic failed to command the same amount of popularity in the Panjāb as it had gained elsewhere even though it was the language of the Qurān. After the Arab conquest of Sind, Multān was the first centre that became the seat of Islāmic learning. But from the first invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni, up to 1206, Lāhore remained the centre of Islāmic culture and learning and produced many distinguished scholars. Hasan-us-Saghānī of Lāhore who died in 1252 was a great scholar of Arabic. He wrote the *Mashāriq-ul-Anwārīn Nabawaiyya* and the lexicographical work, 'Udab'. Abu-Bakr Ishāq, better known as Ibn-Tāj, who was the son of Abul Hasan of Multān, wrote *Khulasā-ut-Jawāhir-ul-Qurān-fi-bayāni Maāni Lughāt-ul-Furqān* and the *Jawāhir-ul-Qurān* on Qurānic literature and many more books on Islāmic mysticism. He died after 1335 A.D., but the exact dates of his birth and death are not known.¹ Sayyid Yūsaf, the son of Sayyid Jamāl-ul-Husaini of Multān who lived during the reign of Ferōze Shāh Tughluq was a great grammarian, and he also wrote several books on 'fiqāh' (philosophy). He was also attached to the royal College at Delhi.¹

We do not find on record any Hindū from the Panjāb who had ever contributed towards Arabic literature during the period under review. Generally speaking, the works produced in Panjāb were only on religious subjects, mysticism and grammar. They mostly comprised commentaries on the Qurān, 'Hadis and Grammar.'³

2. PERSIAN

Persian Language and literature was first introduced by Mahmūd Ghazni in the land of the Five-Rivers. Many poets, historians and literati had accompanied the invader in his campaigns. Tilak, a commander of one thousand soldiers whom Sultān Masud had taken into his service and who enjoyed much confidence was the first Panjābi, to learn Persian along with his one thousand followers. He had to translate and explain many administrative matters to the Sultān.² Though well planned methods for patronising Persian and establishing schools and colleges for teaching Persian were not adopted, yet the people had begun to study the language of the conquerors.

¹ Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts-Patna Library MSS Nos. 876, 4046.

² *Tazkara-i-Ulemā-i-Hind*—Rahmān Ali (1914), p. 256.

³ *Siyār-ul-Auliya*—pp. 236-247.

Catalogue of Persian—MSS, in the British Museum-Rieu, p. 41.

Akhhār-ul-Akhyār—Abdul Haqq, pp. 80-85.

⁴ *Tārikh-i-Subuktigin*—Baihaqi—Vol. II, E&D, p. 126.

Shaikh Husain Zanjāni¹ was an eminent poet of Persian who resided at Lāhore during the Ghaznavids. Shaikh Ali Hujwairi, popularly known as 'Dātā-Ganj-bakhsh', came from Ghazni. He followed the arms of Māsud (1030-1040) up to Lāhore where he settled. He spent forty-three years at Lāhore and the people took great advantage of his learning and piety. He was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His famous book *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*² was translated into English by R.A. Nicholson in 1936.³ He was the author of several works, and might be described as the founder of the Sufi cult in the Panjāb, which gained much popularity among the Muslim masses and has profoundly influenced their entire moral and religious outlook. He died at Lāhore in 1072 and his tomb at Lāhore is one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Panjāb.

Māsud Sāad Salmān was another notable poet of Persian literature and according to Amir Khusrau he wrote three Diwāns in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.⁴ Abul Farj Runi was an eminent poet of the latter Ghaznavi period. He was born in the village of Run in Lāhore district, and was educated at Lāhore. Several of his poems in Persian are addressed to Sultān Ibrāhim Ghaznavid (1059-1099) and Sultān Māsud-bin-Ibrāhim (1099-1114).

Under the Ghorides, too, Persian language and literature thrived well. Many scholars like Tāj-ud-din Hasan, Rukn-ud-din Hamzā and Shahāb-ud-din Muhammad Rashid who hailed from Irān, settled at Lāhore and in some other towns of the Panjāb. It will be seen that all these scholars were Muslims and we hardly find any Hindū name amongst those who contributed towards Arabic and Persian languages.

The liberality of Qutub-ud-din, the sincere appreciation and patronage on the part of Altutmish, and encouragement to poets and other scholars by Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd, had attracted many people to learn these languages.⁵ It was during the reign of Balban that Persian had greatly flourished in the Panjāb. His son Mahmūd better known as Khān-i-Shahid, patronised the scholars of Persian while he was the Governor of the Panjāb with his seat at Multān. Scholars of all shades were encouraged by him and he awarded regular scholarships. He invited Shaikh Sāadi of Shirāz twice to his court at Multān.⁶ Amir Khusrau who composed

¹ *Fuwā'id-ul-Fuād*—Amir Hassan Sijzi, p. 35.

² *The Revelation of the Hidden.*

³ *Life of Shaikh Farid-ud-din*—Nizāmi, p. 13.

⁴ *Preface to the Ghurrah-ul-Kamāl*—Amir Khusrau.

⁵ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-din Barani, Text, p. 42,

Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri—Minhāj-us-Sirāj, p. 128.

Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I, Nizām-ud-din Ahmed-B. Dc., p. 42.

⁶ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, Text, p. 68.

History of India—Vol. II, E&D, pp. 258-393.

ninety nine works on different subjects was the greatest scholar of Persian during Balban's reign, and he spent the major time of his literary career in the Panjāb.

Ala-ud-din Khilji was also a great patron of scholar's. Sultān Muhammad-bin-Tughluq had also attracted many scholars to his court by his liberality. It was during his reign that the poet Izz-ud-din Khālid Khāni after collecting material from the Sanskrit manuscripts found in the archives of Jawālāmukhi temple in the Kāngrā District, had written in verse his *Dala'il-i-Ferōze Shāhi*¹ on natural philosophy, auguries and omens. Muhammad-bin Tughluq had established many mosques, schools and monasteries for the promotion of learning.²

A notable scholar during the later Tughluq period was Yahiyābin-Ahmed of Sirhind. He wrote his famous *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, and dedicated it to Muizz-ud-din Mubārak Shāh II (1421-1434) of the Sayyid dynasty. This is a contemporary work on the rulers of this dynasty, which may be styled as the most original authority for a period of thirty-five years (1400-1434). His work gains an added fame from the fact that he was a Shiā, while nearly all other historians happened to be Sunnis.³ *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, in spite of its small size and lack of literary pretensions, is a work of great value, the primary source of information of the Sayyid period.

Although there were separate schools for the study of Sanskrit and Persian languages, there were some Muslim scholars who learnt Sanskrit and, Hindū scholars who learnt Persian. Muslims learnt much from Hindū medicine, philosophy and astronomy, and, as already stated, translated many works on these subjects from Sanskrit into Persian. This was possible only when the translators possessed mastery over both the languages. Similarly the Hindūs had also started learning the Persian language. A contemporary Brahman scholar of Persian was Pandit Donger Mal, who was a poet, scholar and professor of Persian. He wrote both in Hindi and Persian and his style combined the grace and mystic touch of the Sufi classics.⁴ Aziz-ud-din Khālid Kirmāni rendered Sanskrit works into Persian and Abdul Aziz of Thānesar translated a work on music and dancing.

The period of Sayyid and Lodi Sultāns (1414-1526) saw further development of the Muslim sciences including philosophy. Many foreign scholars were attracted to Sultān Sikander's court. Ziā-ud-din Nakh Shāhi, the vice-regent of Shaikh Farid of Pākpa-

¹ The Arguments of Feroze Shāh.

² *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*—Vol. I, B. De., p. 239.

Tārikh-i-Farishstā—Vol. I, Text, p. 271.

History of India—Vol III, pp. 374-388

³ *History of India*—Vol. IV, E&D, pp. 4-6.

⁴ The Mystic path.

tan, who died in 1351 wrote the *Silk-us-Suluk* and the *Shark-i-Suryāni*. Generally, the following works are attributed to Bābā Shaikh Farid (i) *Fuwāid-us-Salakin*, alleged to have been the *Malfūz* of Khwājā Qutub-ud-din Bakhtiyār Kāki, compiled by Shaikh Farid (ii) *Asrār-ul-Āuliya*, alleged to be the *Malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ishāq (iii) *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb*, alleged to be the *Malfūz* of Bābā Farid, compiled by Shaikh Nizām-ud-din Āuliya.¹

During the period under our study the contributors to Persian language and literature in the Panjāb were mostly Irānians. The foundation was nevertheless well laid for Persian literature—historical, literary and religious—which was destined to exercise a potent and deep influence on the contemporary and later languages, literatures and religious thoughts of our province.

3. PANJĀBĪ LITERATURE

The earliest phase of Panjābī Literature synchronises with the times in which the modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages were shaping themselves into distinctive independent languages. This period extends from the eighth to the middle of the fifteenth century. A major part of the literary product of this period has been irretrievably lost to posterity due to political uncertainties of the times combined with the vandalism of the invading hordes from the north-west. Many a missing link still remains to be provided to fill in the gaps in the literary history of this period. The subtle beauty of the literary composition of Shaikh Farid (1175-1266 A.D.) and Guru Nānak (1469-1539 A.D.) explicitly envisages the presence of what Dr. Mohan Singh calls "a pretty long pre-Nānak Age of Panjābī Literature."²

The first centre of Panjābī literary activity emerged in the Lehandā (Western) region of the Panjāb in and around the old town of 'Multān' which lay on the famous trade routes with Sindh, Rājasthān and middle-eastern countries. Even before the Muslim conquest of the Panjāb, Multān had become an important centre of Muslim culture and trade. Adhemān makes a reference to his abode in Multān. Shaikh Farid also established himself at Pākpa-ttan which became a very important rendezvous of the Sūfi mystics and Muslim scholars. Dipālpur was another such important centre. Proselytizing passion of the Sūfi divines and mystics led to the adoption of Panjābī as a literary medium. The first Panjābī love-romance writer Damōdar also belonged to this region. He adopted Lehandā dialect for his famous 'Qissā Heer-Ranjhā. Thus 'Lehandā' was the first to emerge as a literary dialect of Panjābī. Before it yielded its Place of honour to 'Mājhi', the

¹ *Khair-ul-Majalis*—p. 52.

Jawāma-ul-Kalām, p. 134.

² *A History of Panjābī Literature*—Mohan Singh Dewānā, p. 12.

dialect of Central Panjāb, it had already achieved a distinctive character, remarkable for its romantic mysticism, economy of expression and sweetness.

Although Panjābi scholars such as Dr. Mohan Singh Dewānā have testified to the presence of Panjābi writings attributed to writers like Purhyā or Pandyā, Chand Bardāi and Khusrau etc., it remain problematic to acclaim them as Panjābi writers any more than writers of Panjab. The language used by them may indicate an occasional bias for Panjābi idiom or some traces of Panjabi word-forms may also be discovered in them. But their works manifestly belong more to present day Hindi-Urdu literary tradition than to Panjābi. Such influences are much more pronounced in the works of Gorakh Nāth, Charptat Nāth and of Kabir but it does not take us very long along this line of argument.

A reference has, however, to be made to the war ballads known as Vārs, which are attributed to Pre-Nānak Age. The martial character of the races inhabiting Panjāb and the turbulent times through which it passed under successive invasions from the North-West undoubtedly warrant the rise and growth of such poetry. The key motif of such poetry is to high light the heroic and chivalrous deeds of its protagonists. The suggestion of Guru Arjan who edited the Ādi Granth to sing some of the verses included in it in accordance with the tunes of various such Vārs, testifies their popularity. A whole world of feudal Panjāb with its princes and chieftains driven by dark passions of love and jealousy and gallantry, is secured in these Vārs. Some of the most important and popular Vārs of this age are known as Rāi Kamāl-dī-vār Manj-dī-Vār, Tundē Asrāj-dī-Vār, Sikander Ibrāhim-dī-Vār, Lālā Bahlmā-dī-Vār, Hasnē Mehmē-dī-Vār, Musē-dī-Vār, Malik Murid-te-Chadaharā Sohiyā-dī-Vār, Jodhē Veerē-dī-Vār and Rānā Kailāsh Dev-Maldev-dī-Vār.¹ Their authorship is almost anonymous so far.

Another sure link of the literary tradition of Panjābi literature is provided by the existence of a rich folk-lore, which has been preserved in the forms of folk sings folk-stories, riddles, and popular sayings. while the ancestry of some of these may conclusively be traced to classical Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apbhramasā literatures, a major part of them emerges from the racial inheritance of the Panjāb and mirrors the pastoral life and moods in haunting tones with a flavour of the primordial elements like the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars. The sex-relationships represented in these compositions of a collective mind are very simple, direct and uninhibited. Besides mirroring a whole social milieu whose last traces are now fast disappearing, this folk-lore preserves the whole gamut of collective wisdom. Whenever the Panjābi poets felt a need to address the common man and woman they invariably feel back

¹ *Panjabi Sahit-da-Itihas*—Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 48-54.

upon this inexhaustible store of tunes and tones, symbols and imagery.

The existence of Pre-Nānak Age of Panjābi literature is established by two ways :—the actual presence of work attributed to writers like Adhemān, Pundyā, Chānd Bardāi, Gorakh Nāth (940-1031). Charpat (890-990), Khusrau, Farid and other bards and the strong probability that the excellence of the content of Nānak's works' richness of thoughts, forms and variety was not an isolated phenomenon but a crescendo of a huge literary tide rolling over a long duration. Adhemān who was also known as Abdul Reh-mān, wrote 'Sandes-Rāso' by the middle of the tenth century and it was for the first time edited jointly by Sri Jin Vijaya Mūni and Prof. Harivallabh Bhyani in 1945. The author has exposed in a popular style the feelings and passions of a young women whose lover had gone to some other state. It is in the poetic tradition of Mēghdūt of Kālī Dāss and contains two hundred and twenty three stanzas. As stated by Sri Jin Vijay Mūni, the language of the 'Sandes Rāso' is not enclosed in a rigid grammatical frame, but has a considerable flexibility of form. This fact suggests that the work was composed, when Apabhramasā was passing through its last stage of decay and the new vernaculars like its daughters were leaving behind their childhood stage.¹

Pandyā or Pushyā or Pushpā was the first Muslim poet of Hindwi who versified the story of Sassi-Punnun in 1123 A.D., as stated by Mir Karāmat-Ullā in his article on Sassi-Punnun in the Ūrdū monthly 'Tarjumān' Lāhore, February, 1917. Chand Bardāi (C. 1126-1192) was a friend and court poet of Prithvi Rāj of Delhi. He was originally a resident of Lāhore and went to Ajmer to join the court of Prithvi Rāj at his early age. His main and famous work "Prithvi Rāj Rāsō" which has now many different recensions, deals with the expeditions, wars and other distinguished deeds of Prithvi Rāj. It is composed in a mixed language of Rājasthāni and Panjābi. The available works of different Nāth poets have been published in 'Nāth Bāni', edited by Dr. Pitambar Datt Barthwal. Khusrau, who was born of a Hindū mother at Patiali in A.D. 1254, wrote the earliest known Panjābi Vār, a work hitherto unnoticed, describing a battle between Tughluq Shāh and Khusrau Khān.

Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar (1173-1266 A.D.) can appropriately be called the progenitor of Sūfi traditon of Panjābi poetry. The grandfather of Farid migrated from Irān to the Panjāb early in the twelfth century. Farid was born fifty years later in the village of Khotwāl² near Multān in the year 1175.³ A man of deep religious devotion, he was instrumental in converting a large number of local people, known as janglis, to Islām. He wrote both to preach and also to express his mystic experiences. A

¹ 'Sandes Rāso'—Bhartiya Vidya Mandir-Bombay, 1945. Preface, p. 15.

² *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. III. Jarrett, p. 363.

³ *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid*—K.A. Nizāmi, p. 11.

major portion of his works is included in Ādi Granth, compiled in 1604 A.D. the Sikh Scripture. His literary works in Panjābi consist of a set of 'Kāfiān' and a hundred and thirty 'Shalōkas' and a 'Nasihāt-nāmā'. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Sūfi beliefs. In his works, his language was simple and natural. The one dialect which is strikingly prominent in his language is Multāni. The influence of Lehandā is also visible. A few words of Hindi and Persian are found in his verse, but such words are rare. Though his poetry is natural, forceful and impressive, it lacks that intense feeling which characterises the poetry of Hussain, another eminent poet of Panjābi literature. Some other works are also attributed to him and although they are not dissimilar in tone or in tenor from those included in the Ādi Granth, much reliance cannot be placed on their authenticity. Shaikh Farid a scholarly person was well versed in Islāmic lore and he has composed verse in Persian also.

Neither did the choice of conventional forms of religious and didactic literature i.e. Shalokās and Bishanpadās, inhibit the ease and freedom of Shaikh Farid to put across his ideas and feelings in a familiar and intimate tone, nor his functions as a Muslim divine obfuscate his vision to apprehend the beauty of a typical Panjābi landscape and strike fresh and vital imagery out of it. Although the range of human experience that found expression in his poetry is not very wide for he confined himself to manifestation of an unmitigated anguish at the prospect of death, whereby he wanted to preach the moral uplift of his followers—yet through his insight for apt imagery and remarkable economy of expression, he manages to create a deep impact on the readers. In brief, his work is almost classical. He is profoundly humane and passionately desires his readers to attain moral excellence as well as an awareness of their duty to God.

After this promising start, the Panjābi literature did not throw up any luminous figure till two centuries later its brightest star Nānak appeared on the horizon. There must have been a long stretch of some minor poets, but little is today known about them. This situation cannot be attributed to any specific reason except that during the dark age of the literary history of the Panjāb much of its life ebbed away and what little sign of it remained was trampled down by ruthless vandals, the early Muslim invaders. But appearance of Nānak and emergence of Sikh tradition more than redeemed this dismal state of affairs.

With Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) the graph of the mediaeval Panjābi literature touched its highest point. Nānak travelled very extensively. His sojourns took him to the seats of various religions and beliefs from Mecca and Baghdād in the middle East to Ceylon in the South. These travels brought him into direct contact with protagonists of all the important religions of the Indian people in their natural settings, and thereby provided him with an opportu-

nity to broaden the base of his sympathies and discover the essential unity of mankind. This is reflected in the expensive catholicity of his belief and his radical outlook.

Although the poetry of Gurū Nānak, as also the Sikh religion which evolved out of his teachings, is the product of the same social ferment which gave birth to Bhakti movement of renaissance in mediaeval Indian religion and art, yet they acquired a wholly distinct character of their own. To the devotional exultation and mystic beatitude of the poetry of Bhakti School, Gurū Nānak added the element of historical involvement and commitment. This manifested itself in a strong denunciation of the political subjugation and administrative misrule, a seathing criticism of the religious rituals and dogmas sustained by a thoroughly decadent priestly class and ruthless demolition of all distinctions of caste and creed which separate man from his fellow men. Nānak preached for a universal fatherhood of God and a brotherhood of Man. While paying critical attention to the outer shackles of human personality, Nānak did not forget to point out the moral and spiritual decay which enveloped his own people. Describing the mark of 'Kāliyūg', he draws attention to the "corruption of the places of worship and decadence of social institutions", and explains it as a consequence flowing from people becoming fatalists, having cast off their 'Dharma', and degenerating into an ignorant mass of persons dead and blind in spirit. Thus complete surrender of self to the will of a loving God acquired a new significance of a selfless dedication to the service of mankind and to mitigation of its unhappy lot.

Panjābi poetry with Nānak expanded its horizons and was endowed with a new daring and a fresh vigour. It forged strong links with the life of men and their dreams of fulfilment. He rejected the concept of God as an abstract construction of cold logic and replaced it with that of a personal God, adorable father, a loving lord and an inspiring protector. Panjābi poetry began to glow with his emotional exuberance and warmth of human relationship. All this led to an unleashing of new forces and an energisation of a people, which is still to a large extent far from having exhausted itself. Nānak's poetry appeals to the modern imagination, and has been a great force in liberating human soul and in stimulating human imagination.

Both the catholicity of his belief and radical nature of his outlook are reflected in Nānak's attitude to poetic form and in his literary taste. A conscious poet that he was, he made several innovations, which helped him to save the Panjābi poetic tradition from conventional formation of the traditional literature. In poetic form he drew heavily upon the folk forms besides adopting popular forms of "Vārs", "Bārāmāhā" and "Pahti Akhari" to his new content. In imagery he replaced the contrived and unnatural images with those drawn from the natural landscape of the Panjāb and from the social and institutional life of its people.

This set the norm for Panjābi poetry to be written by succeeding poets, as his teachings set the form for human conduct. Casting off poetic embellishments and shedding away ostentatious style, Nānak's poetry became a fresh, direct and intimate piece of beauty—both delicate and vital.

Many poets wrote devotional songs and poems and put the name of Gurū Nānak as their author. Many others tried their hands on the themes and motives exploited by Gurū Nānak with a thinly veiled sense of rivalry. In their own these writings constituted a tribute to the greatness of Nānak and should, therefore, make an interesting reading.

Nānak was followed by successive Sikh Guru-poets. A special mention may be made of Guru Ram Dass, the great aesthetic among religious poets and Guru Arjan Dev (1565-1606 A.D.) who carved a niche for himself in the realm of mediaeval Indian culture by successfully executing the stupendous job of editing the Ādi Granth (edited 1604 A.D.) In 1430 pages of this sacred text are included selected works of many important saints of mediaeval India including Kabir, Farid, Rāmānand, Ravidās, Nāmdev, Sūrdās and Meerābāi, besides complete works of the first Gurū Nānak, Gurū Angad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dāss and Gurū Arjan Dev and many others. Later on Gurū Gobind Singh added the teachings of Guru Tegh Bahādur and a couple of his own writings to this sacred book.

Ādi Granth is a unique work of significance in the mediaeval Indian literature, both for its magnitude and its wide range. As an attempt to bring together the works of saints of varied religious beliefs and different castes, it is a magnificent symbol of the synthesis which Sikhism sought to achieve out of the chaos of mediaeval Indian religions and society. As a record of what the most sensitive souls of the mediaeval age of the Panjāb history felt about their contemporary situation, the destiny of man and the way to his salvation, it is of immense value to the social scientist. An anthology of verse written in numerous languages and different styles then popular, it provides us with most authentic source for literary and linguistic research.

4. SANSKRIT

Sanskrit language had developed into Prakrits by the second century B.C., and Prakrits had further changed into Apabhramasā by the tenth century, for all of which we have not yet been able to obtain specimens, because there has been a great loss of linguistic material in this connection. We do not have yet a definite record of the production of Sanskrit works in the Panjāb during this period. As with the break up of the Hindū Shāhi kingdom of the Panjāb on the advent of the Ghaznavids, the Sanskrit language lost its hold in the land of the Five Rivers, which was once its cradle.

The new Indo-Aryan literature started with inheritances from Apabhramasā, Prākṛit and Sanskrit; and then on the religious side, a Brahmanical revival, after the Muslim conquest of the Panjāb and the cataclysm it involved during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries had subsided, particularly in Northern-India, found its fullest expression in the literatures of the newly born modern Indo-Aryan languages. This literature of the period from 1300 to 1526 consisted largely of great poems and of lyrics; and they treated the heritage of ancient Indian myths and legends as well as philosophy together with that of the local cults and creeds including the new developments.

There were some Muslim chiefs residing at the provincial headquarters, viz, Thānesar, Bhatindā, Sirhind, Jallandhar, Lāhore, Siālkot, Kāngrā and other Shivālik hill towns, who studied Sanskrit and patronised it without stint. Often Sanskrit works were included in the courses of study for Hindū students in the Madarsās. "Hindū classics were translated into Persian and Arabic, as a consequence Persian culture influenced Hindū culture."¹

Ferōze Shāh Tughluq and Sikander Lodi had some Sanskrit books translated into Persian and a work on Physics titled Kitāb-i-Ferōze Shāhi.² And these translations or adaptations in the various languages kept the Hindū tradition alive among the people. The movement to translate in the language of the people the Ramayānā, the Mahābhārata, the Purānās and the other texts of Brahmanical Hinduism, which we note all over the Panjāb, may be looked upon as a part of the sort of Hindū or Brahmanical renaissance through a resuscitation of Sanskrit literature. This was noticeable after the establishment of the Ghaznavid rule over this province, particularly from the fifteenth century onwards. It is possible to cite at least one literary work of a Muslim, which on the ground of its theme, form, treatment and language has been considered to be derived exclusively from the Sanskrit literary tradition of the Panjāb. That was a poetical romance of the 'Rāso' type in the Apabhramasā language named Sandesarasākā, by one Abdur Rehman, the son of Mir Hasan who was well versed in Sanskrit literature.³ Another Sanskrit work on music and dancing was translated into Persian by Abdul Aziz Shams of Thānesar.

Later on, the Muslim rulers, of the Panjāb and foreign countries, had also participated in this revivalistic movement,

¹ *The Eastern Times*—Dr. James, H. Cousins, dated 7th June, 1935.

² *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 474.

Fatuhāt-i-Feroze Shāhi—Sultān Feroze Shāh, pp. 18-19.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 429.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 474.

Fatuhāt-i-Feroze Shāhi—Sultān Feroze Shāh, pp. 18, 19.

Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārikh—Vol. I, Ranking, p. 429.

either as a matter of policy, or for literary and aesthetic satisfaction. The renderings of the Sanskrit Epics, Purānās and other texts, which started immediately when things got settled down after the welter and turmoil of the Muslim conquest, now form a common inheritance for the whole of Hindū India.

5. HINDI

As a matter of fact, Hindi which has been accepted as the *lingua franca* in the Indian constitution, did not come into literary use in any appreciable scale before 1800 A.D., and its effective literary employment started only after 1850. But here we have to consider the mixture of various dialects which was steadily developing as a literary language being particularly in use among the wandering religious preachers, who in early mediaeval times moved all over Northern-India, preaching the special religious ideologies for which they stood.

During the period 1000-1300, western Hindi and other speeches as has been said before, were developing out of Apabhraṃsā. It was during this period of a kind of linguistic heritage, that the first drafts of great Rājput heroic romances like the Prithvi Rāj Rāsō, the Visāla Deva Rāsō, the Khumāna Rāsō, the Alhā-Udal Rāsō romance of Jagnaik and some other works took their shape.

There was one more acute cause of its emergence. The Indian Muslim to start with, was a foreigner and adopted India as his country, and then he took his wife from amongst the natives. Thus there came into being the strong group of mixed peoples, and this was further reinforced by conversions into Islām from among Hindū masses and in some cases from among the princely families also. The foreign element gradually became absorbed into the basic Indian element. The Muslim Sūfi preacher on the other hand, moving among the Hindū masses and living among them, followed far different methods, and they were successful both in gaining converts to Islām and in obtaining a spiritual reapproachment with the Hindūs. The result of this was some new religious developments in India.

At the commencement of this period we find Amir Khusrau (1253-1352) who was a remarkable person as a scholar, mystic and poet. He was a scholar of Arabic and Persian, and the first poet of Hindi literature. He was the first Muslim of foreign parentage to make the most notable contribution to Hindi. Khusrau remained under the kind patronage of Prince Muhammad for about a decade at Lāhore where he was the secretary of the Literati whom the Prince had brought with him to Lāhore from Delhi. His use of Hindi poetical imagery and theme, his admiration and addition of them to Indian music, and his spirited defence of Indian cultural values were a few of the services of this versatile poet, the

first great creative writer of Hindi literature of Muslim India.¹ Amir Khusrau is also the reputed author of the 'Khālīq Bārī', which is a brief dictionary in verse of Perso-Arabic and Hindi. The students of Persian used to learn it by heart which did a great service in the spread of Perso-Arabic words among the people of North-India, and so it helped to bring about the development of Urdū. Urdū, which the Muslims devised as a common medium of expression and they developed it into a literary language, was in fact Hindi in Arabic script. This language had its natural result in the evolution of a common culture, which united both the communities and tended to bridge the gulf that existed between them on account of religious differences.

6. URDŪ

A common language which gradually began to emerge as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and other Central Asian peoples on the one hand and the Hindūs on the other, took its birth during this period. This was originally called Zabān-i-Hindvi and subsequently Urdū. It was the written language common to the whole of Northern-India during the seven or eight centuries of the past Gupta Bhakti revival. Its words in particular, were at first found side by side with Sanskrit but in due course gained ascendancy over it. It had vast affinities with Sant Bhāshā,² which had developed its own literature and became popular. Sind Sāgarī was the parent of Urdū, which was the spoken as well as the written language of the West Panjāb and which with Hindvi shared so much with Kashmiri, Sindhi, Gujarāti, Marathi and Dakhani.³ It had been a dialect of the western Hindi speaking people for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut.

This language had remained in a fluid condition for nearly two hundred years and attained the status of a written language in the first quarter of the fourteenth century only. How it finally came into existence is a matter of great controversy among the modern scholars. Muhammad Husain Azād says that Urdū language emerged from the Brij Bhāshā dialect of western Hindi, when the latter came into contact with Persian which was brought into the Panjāb by the Turks. Muhammad Sherānī observes that it grew out of contact between Panjābi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. Muhammad Sherānī's research seems quite plausible, as Panjāb and Sindh were the first provinces where the Turks had taken their abode for a very long time till they spread elsewhere. The Turks had to give birth by which they could get closer contact with the natives for the

¹ *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*—Mirza, p. 227.

Hazrat Amir Khusrau—Habib, p. 5.

² We first meet the Dakhani in Ādi Granth in Guru Nānak's Dakhani Onkar.

³ Language appropriate for old Hindū.

purposes of running the administration of this country and for recruitment to their army. Hence it became known as Urdū, or the language of the camp and the market.

A third theory of the birth of this language has been brought forward recently by Dr. Māsud Hussain, who says that the spoken language of Delhi was Hariānvi in the early days of the Sultānate. He says that when Persian was grafted on Hariānvi, it resulted in the creation of the Urdū language. In the course of time the Persian words and idioms were so intervoven with Hariānvi that the duality of the language was annihilated.

The grammatical structure of this language was Indian ; but gradually it began to have a preponderance of the vocabulary of Persian and Arabic words. Amir Khusrau is considered to be the first Muslim writer who used this language as a vehicle for the expression of his poetic ideas.

Muslim 'Sūfis' who were anxious to spread Islām, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries deliberately adopted this language as the vehicle of their expression. The Sultāns did not patronise it, as they preferred Persian to 'Zabān-i-Hindvi'.

CHAPTER—XII

FINE ARTS AND FOUNDING OF TOWNS

1. ARCHITECTURE

Very few early architectural remains of the period under review are intact in the Panjāb to assess a clear picture of this art. To some extent this is due to the destructive action of the great rivers of this province on whose banks the cities and the towns lay, but the iconoclasm of the Muslim invaders was even more destructive. Thus a comparative study of the difference between the indigenous and that of the Sultāns cannot be thoroughly envisaged.

By the twelfth century, Muslims had evolved distinctive architectural conventions and forms to suit their religious and social needs. In the process they had drawn freely on the technical and artistic experience of the Byzantines and the Iranians and also, particularly in the Panjāb, of the Hindūs and the Budhists. The Muslims did not hesitate to demolish the Hindu temples in the Panjāb and the material of such demolished temples began to be used for mosques and other buildings built by the Muslims.¹ The remains of Hindū art and architecture are few and of little value. Stone temples exist at Baijnāth where there is an inscription of 1239, and also at Nūrpur.²

The Sultāns of Delhi were great lovers of architecture. By the time of the Turkish conquest of the Panjāb, the various rulers of Central Asia had developed a style of architecture with those of Transoxiānā, Irān, Afghānistān, Mesopotamiā and Egypt. "The constructional principle of Hindu architecture was not suited to the erection of wide and lofty halls required for Muslim congregational prayers. A simple horizontal and vertical arrangement of pillars and architraves was particularly inadequate for roofing large spaces. A more convenient and more durable method, imparting the desired monumental quality without excessively weighing upon the under-structure, was the dome which, both in its hemispherical and conical forms, had been widely adapted to the architecture of Muslim religious and funerary buildings."³

The Ghaznavids and the Ghorides were too busy with the work of conquest and thus they could not get time and means to indulge in artistic fancy. They, therefore, adapted their needs to the indigenous art. The buildings of the Mamluks illustrate the gradual working of this process, and were greatly influenced by in-

¹ *Chronicle of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*—Edward Thomas, pp. 22-23.

² 37 miles west of Dbarmsala.

³ *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*—Habibulla, p. 354.

indigenous art and traditions. Hence the new architecture that emerged was neither completely foreign nor purely Panjābinised. The amalgamation of the foreign and the indigenous architectural styles was made possible by certain factors. Firstly, the Sultāns had to employ craftsmen and sculptors of the Panjāb who had their own clear traditional ideas about the form and method of the construction, and they unconsciously introduced into Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details which had been in vogue in the Panjāb for many centuries. Secondly, the early conquerors almost invariably built the mosques, palaces and even tombs out of the materials of Hindu and Jain temples which the Sultāns had callously destroyed.

The architecture of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq is typical of the Tughluq house. Unlike the style of the Mamluk dynasty and Khilji Sultāns marked by quasi Hinduism, it is distinguished by a puritanic reaction. It is simple, probably due to the fact that the central Government was hemmed in by the Mughals. Feroze Tughluq, an indefatigable builder, also erected a number of cities, forts, palaces, mosques, schools, tombs, embankments and other works of public welfare. He dug canals in the Panjāb, mention of which has already been made in the chapter on irrigation. He built the towns of Hissār-i-Ferōzā and Fatehbād. Ferōze Tughluq got shifted the pillar of Ashokā from the village of Tobra, in the Ambālā District, and planted it at Ferōzābād. The buildings of Ferōze Tughluq are noted for their simplicity, straightforwardness and austerity. The virtues of this style reside in its simplicity and strength and in the purposefulness with which it brought into vogue new features or adapted old ones to its needs.¹

The contribution of the Sayyids and Lodis to the development of architecture is very small as they inherited a shrunken empire with very feeble resources, and thus they could not give full expression to their architectural ambitions.

Many of the constructional and decorative details of the fifteenth century were inherited from the preceding centuries, yet there were some innovations introduced. "The Hindu tradition in architecture of the Sultāns mingled with the simplicity of Muslim designs and enriched the very riches which the faithful faced while praying to the Eternal God.² The plaintive and meditative melodies of Hind evoked a response in the bold hearts of stalwart Turkish warriors.³ The use of enamelled tillings for decoration, surface ornamentation of incised plaster embellished with colours, lotus finials on domes, stunted turrets 'Guldastās' (flower pots) diminu-

¹ *Tārikh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 465.

History of India—Vol. III, E&D, p. 338.

Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 562.

² *Indian and Eastern Architecture*—Ferguson, pp. 197-198.

³ *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, p. 199.

tive kiosks or chhatris (umbrellas) fuller domes and pinnacles are contributions of the Lodis to the Indo-Muslim architecture.¹

2. GARDENING

It may also be noted here that architecture played an important part in the development of gardening in the Panjāb. A building, however exquisite and excellent in other respects, was not considered to be complete if it had no garden of flowers and foliage. Whenever, therefore a Muslim king, or a noble, or another man of means got erected a beautiful building he provided it with an equally beautiful garden befitting its architectural dignity.

Before giving an account of the gardens laid out by the Sultāns, we consider it worth while to make a short reference to the flowers that grew there. Among the most famous flowers of the period were, 'Banafshā', 'Yasman' and 'Nāsarīn', which were of the foreign origin, and 'Beilā', 'Kewrā', 'Champā', 'Mōlsirī', 'Savtrī', 'Damrā', 'Karmā' and 'Laung'. Among other flowers, which were originally of the Panjāb but were given Persian names by the Muslims, be mentioned as 'Gul-i-Kuzā', 'Gul-i-Sadbarg' and 'Qurantal'. All these types of flowers added to the beauty and charm of the gardens during the period under our study.

3. PAINTINGS

The art of painting was not properly patronised by the Sultāns and the Muslim nobility owing to their religious prohibition by orthodox Muslims. It was believed by the Muslims that a painter who painted the figures of living beings, imagined that he was giving life to the object of his painting, and thus he presumed to rival God, who alone is the giver of life. On account of such religious objections the Sultāns had no love for painting and refused to patronise painters. "The Hadis forbids painting of all human forms, and thus places a ban on the development of the art."² This was mainly because it was tabooed in the early days of Islām on account of its close association with idolatry. It was only occasionally that the Sultāns and nobles broke away from the general convention and practised this art, because a large number of Hindūs, among whom painting had long been popular, had embraced Islām, but had not given up their old habits and hobbies altogether. It may reasonably be conceded that the art was not neglected by the Sultāns, quite as much as it is believed to have been. A large majority of the new-Muslims and their descendants must have

¹ *Bābarnāmā*—Vol. III, Beveridge, pp. 608-614.

History of Indian and Eastern Architecture—Vol. II, Ferguson, p. 176.

Cambridge History of India—Vol. III, p. 593.

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. II, Briggs, p. 302.

² *Islamic Culture*—Vol. XXIV (1950), pp. 218-225.

resorted to it, and the Muslims who came from outside and had imbibed Persian ideas and inspirations must also have pursued this art, though not quite so zealously and with the same object as their contemporary Hindūs did. Thus it appears that while the rulers were indifferent, if not actually averse to it, the people in general cultivated it to a great extent.

We come across stray and infrequent references to ornamental designs painted on walls or engraved on furniture, arms and saddles and embroidered on flags and costumes. Besides ornamental potteries and metal works were developed. Inlaid metal basins, procelains and bidri vessels and profusely decorated brass and silver pots were used in the royal house-holds and also in the houses of Muslim nobility, and high officials, but the Hindūs were using their indigenous ones.¹

The art was full of softness and sentimentalism for chivalrous and romantic scenes of love making, of youths and maidens dallying in gardens by the side of a stream, of gorgeous reception of foreign embassies in royal courts, and of feasts and festive functions where wine freely passed round, where dainty dishes were served and where some viands were spread in abundance. Then like every age of romance conquest and mystery, this age was greatly interested in the supernatural and the marvellous Genii, goblins, monsters and fairies moved amidst men as common, well known, familiar figures. They were the stock-in-trade of the story teller and the painter.

4. CALLIGRAPHY

Closely connected with the art of painting was the art of calligraphy which was highly appreciated by the Sultāns. It was looked upon as a fine art and was loved and encouraged by almost all the Sultāns and the governors of the provinces of Lāhore, Dipālpur, Samānā, and Multān.²

The art of writing a beautiful hand had been very widely cultivated by the Sultāns ever since their advent in the Panjāb. They encouraged this art and employed a large number of amanenses for copying books, manuscripts, documents, etc., and though it was adopted by many people as a means of earning a living, there were good many well-to-do persons who practised it for its own sake and loved to copy in a most attractive hand the books they loved to treasure in their own private collections. We know that Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd was an accomplished calligrapher, who used to make copies of the Qurān and lived on the sale proceeds; for he did not like to spend the income of the State on his personal requirements. Muhammad Tughluq was also an expert calligrapher. His "calli-

¹ *Indian Arts and Letters*—Vol. IX (1935).

Indian Architecture—Islamic Period, P. Browne, pp. 571-573.

² *Tārikh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Ziā-ud-din Barani, pp. 352-368

Tārikh-i-Farishtā—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 213-217.

graphy put the most accomplished scribes to shame." Suffice it to say that the Nastāliq hand was popular and the art was in a most flourishing state during the whole of this period. Calligraphy was, in fact, a great qualification, and a scholar or an author, however, accomplished, was wanting in scholarship if he lacked this qualification.

5. SCULPTURE

The sculptures on the surviving temples have kept alive the glorious memory of dancing prevalent in ancient times. There was a noticeable decline in it with the advent of the Muslims in the Panjāb, and it suffered a considerable set back with the conquest of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The Sultāns considered it their foremost duty to forbid the making of images. Consequently they systematically destroyed all kinds of images. Only those objects of sculpture escaped religious vandalism as were buried under ground, or had been taken away to inaccessible places of safety. This art had the greatest hit in this province during the period under our review.¹

6. FOUNDING OF TOWNS

In the following pages, efforts are made to describe in detail the achievements of the Sultāns in the field of fine arts, founding of towns and other monuments. Mention is made only of those towns, gardens, mosques, palaces, tombs and buildings, to which the Sultāns, the nobles and the Hindū chiefs had made their contributions from time to time.

Hazra :—Now starting from the North-West, Hāzra is a pretty little town, which is situated in the middle of the fertile Chhach-Valley, lying between the Indus and the dry ravines and desolate sand hills at a distance of thirteen miles from Campbellpur. Its mosques and spires, dotted by palm trees rising in the midst of waving fields, are visible from a great distance. It is the village of the scene of the great battle, in which Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni had defeated the united forces of the Hindū Rājās in 1008 A.D. Here, twenty thousand Panjābis were killed by the invader, and it was afterwards fixed upon by some of the Afghan followers of that chieftain to be the site of their colony.² VENKĀ DEVĀ AND KALA are the Hindū temples which were the great places of worship, in Attock District, during the early Sultānate period. The temples of Amb and Kāfirkōt, three miles below Jhrik on a low hill, covered with ruins, and a fort supposed to be erected by Rājā Majhira, were also places of great sanctity of this period.³ Though the Hindūs were a suppressed race, yet the sublimity is visible in the construction of these buildings.

¹ *Madhvā-kāl-Bhārtiyā Sanskrit*—G. S. Ojha, pp. 193-194.

Rehlā of Ibn-Battutā—Mahdi Hussain, pp. 58-69.

² *Attock District Gazetteer*, p. 270.

³ *Ibdi.*, pp. 31-33.

RĀWALPINDI was an ancient town which appears to have been of considerable size, as ancient Greek and other Muslim coins were still found over an extent of two square miles. A small village is still in existence about three miles to the north of Rāwalpindi, named Ghazni, which most probably preserved the old name of the ancient city. The city was also known in the fourteenth century as Fatehpur Baori, before it was restored to the present name. But the present site of the city was proposed and bestowed by Mahmūd of Ghazni to the Gakhars. It still could not be re-peopled since its exposed position on the customary line of march of successive armies invading the Panjāb was against it, and it long lay deserted till one Jhandā Khān, a Gakhar chief, restored to it its old glory by giving it the name of Pindi¹ or Rāwalpindi from the village of Rāwal which was at one time a flourishing place at a distance of a few miles to the north of the town on the present road to Muri.²

PHARWĀLĀ town was the centre of the Gakhar power during the Sultānate period and it had a fort, which was lying on the face of a bare slope of rock, and below it rushes the Soān torrent which emerges from the hills. When Bābar invaded India in 1524, Hāti Khān Gakhar was the chief of Pharwālā. Bābar captured him after he gave a gallant resistance.³

GUJRĀT :—The original name of Gujrāt is said to have been 'Udanagari'. The restoration of the old town is attributed to Ali Khān, a Gujar who was defeated by Sangkara Varmā between 863-901 A.D. Gujrāt was destroyed in 1303, a year which was signalised by an invasion of the Mughals during the reign of Alā-ud-din Khilji. In the reign of Bahlōl Lōdi (1450-1486), it appears that a tract of the country on the right bank of the Chenāb, and including a part of this district, was separated from the province of Siālkot and formed into an independent charge under the name of Zilā Bahlol.

DHAUNKAL was founded by Rāja Dhorekhal during the days of Mahmūd of Ghazni. It was here at Dhaunkal that the great Muslim Saint Saldi Ahmad, afterward known as Sakhi Sarwar Sultān, or as Lakhdātā (the giver of lacs) and whose tomb is at Nagāhā, had taken up his abode somewhere in the twelfth century and procured a miraculous stream of water. The water of this stream is said to be good for leprosy and the village is much haunted by the lepers even today. The house of Sakhi Sultān was turned into a mosque during the reign of Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān, and the well was also much improved and beautified.⁴ **BADDOKE**

¹ Pindi is the diminutive of Pind, a village and Pindi, means a small village.

² *Rāwalpindi District Gazetteer*, pp. 245-252.

³ *Ibid* pp. 41-42, 253.

⁴ *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawarikh*—Sujan Rai, Tr. Sarkār, p. 84.

GOSĀIN, a large village about eight miles from Gujrānwālā was founded during the Lodi dynasty. This village became a place of pilgrimage on account of a shrine of one Rāmā Nand, a great Hindū saint, and thousands of Hindūs especially Brahmans flocked there together on the day of the disappearance of Rāmā Nand to offer their homage at the shrine.

SODHRĀ is an ancient town in the district of Gujrānwālā, about five miles to the east of Wazīrābād, and is situated on the Chenāb river. It was founded by Ayāz a favourite of Mahmūd Ghazni. During the Ghaznavids, this town was very important and took its name from having once one hundred gates. After the Ghaznavids, this town fell into decay, but was refounded by Shāh Jahān.¹

LĀHORE possessed the most distinctive characteristics of architecture during the period of the Sultānate of Delhi, which extends from eleventh to the sixteenth century and their characteristics were the use of the overlapping arches, the great slope and the extensive thickness of the walls. The relics of architecture in Lāhore of this period worthy of note were as follows :—

1. MANDIR OF LAVĀ :—The first of them which deserves notice is the 'Mandir of Lavā' situated in the north-west corner of the fort. The Mandir (temple) is in a deep hollow enclosed by walls on all sides. The remarkable thing about the mandir is that it is built on the ground which is on a level with the surface outside the fort. This fact goes to prove that the mandir must have been built at the time when the fort was built, or it must have been enclosed when the fort was extended in the time of Akbar.

2. TIBBI-WĀLĀ SHIWĀLĀ :—The next Hindū temple, which is of importance, is situated in the Tibbi Bazār. This temple is known as the Tibbi Wālā-Shiwālā. The temple proper is one and a half storey below the level of the outer surface. There is a flight of stairs which leads down to it. It is all dark in the temple, which is lighted day and night by a artificial light. It is written in the history of Lāhore by Kanyā Lāl that the dome of the temple was on a level with the outer ground and Rājā Dinā Nāth in the time of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh caused the dome to be raised. There is a quadrangle in the middle of the building shaded by a great banyan tree. On the southern side there is a veranda in which there is a gate which opens the way to the stairs leading to the temple.

There are some other temples which are believed by the people to have been built at the time of the foundation of Lāhore, but there is no record or any remains. Even if they were erected in ancient times, they have been remodelled and no vestige of the architecture of the Sultānate period has been left about them.

1. DĀTĀ-GANJ BAKHSH : The first mausoleum of importance is the tomb of Dātā-Ganj Bakhsh. This celebrated mausoleum is

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 351-352.

situated outside the Bhāte gate of the city. The real name of this saint is Ali Makhdūm. He came to Lāhore with Masūd, the son of Mahmūd, and settled at Lāhore in 1039. He died in 1072. A large collection of manuscripts of the Qurān were kept there. From the architectural standpoint there is nothing important in the building.¹ 2. **TOMB OF QUTUB-UD-DIN**: The next tomb is situated in the Anārkalī Bazār. The tomb is considered to be the burial place of the founder of the Muslim rule in India. There is nothing about the tomb which can make one believe in its being the grave of Aibak. It is only recorded in Tāj-ul-Maāsir that Qutub-ud-din Aibak was buried at Lāhore "like a treasure in the bowels of the earth", and this small grave is identified with the grave of Aibak.² 3. **THE MOSQUE IN DOGRĀN STREET**: Next in importance comes a mosque situated in the Dogrān street, generally known as Niwin Masjad. This mosque is a type of its own. One peculiarity about this mosque is that it is about two storeys below the level of the surrounding ground. This mosque was built by the order of Zulfiqār Khān, the governor of Lāhore, during the regime of the Lodi Kings. There were many mosques above the level of the ground, and the founder, in order to give it a peculiarity, had the ground dug two storeys below the level and then laid the foundation of the mosque. There is a flight of stairs, which descends into the courtyard of the mosque. The courtyard is one storey below the level of the ground. When one stands in the courtyard and sees with his own eyes the system of drainage, he is for a moment driven up to the praise of the engineer who so devised it. But the simplicity of style, the massiveness of the walls and the pointed arches are the characteristics of the buildings erected in the fifteenth century. All these characteristics are to be found in this small mosque. Thus from an architectural point of view, it is a true model of the buildings of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.³ 4. **THE TOMB OF AYĀZ**: The tomb of Ayāz made of brick and mortar is situated on a platform 9'-10" × 7'-6" and is always covered with a pall. The entrance is by a door which leads to a small courtyard. 5. **THE TOMB OF SIRĀJ-UD-DIN**: The highly respected tomb of Pir Sirāj-ud-din is situated in the Jaurā Māri quarters of the city of Lāhore where the saint was buried. This tomb is one of the most ancient buildings of Lāhore. The saint was the native of Bokhāra and had settled in Lāhore in 1323 during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

MULTĀN. Shrine of Bahāwal Haqq: Shaikh Bahā-ud-din Zakariā, known as Bahāwal Haqq was the son of Wajih-ud-din and was born at Kōt Karōr, in the Leih tahsil of Miānwali, in 1169-70.⁴ The shrine was built by the saint himself. The lower

¹ *Lahore-Past and Present*—Mohd. Baqir, pp. 307-308.

² *Ibid.* p. 303.

³ *Ibid.* p. 331.

⁴ *Āin-i-Akbari*—Vol. III, Jarret, p. 362.

part of the tomb of the saint is a square of fifty one feet outside and is surmounted by an octagon, about half of the height of the square, above which there is a hemispherical dome.¹ **SHRINE OF RUKN-I-ĀLAM :** In the city on the south west side of the Multān fort is the magnificent tomb of Rukn-i-Ālam, the grandson of the saint Bahāwal Haqq. The tomb is built entirely of red brick, bounded with beams of sissam wood. The whole of the interior was elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels, and string courses and battlements.² **THE GARDEZI SHRINE :** Out of the Muslim buildings in Multān city the most remarkable was the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad Yusaf Gardezi near the Bahargate. This is a rectangular domeless building, plentifully decorated with glazed tile work of considerable beauty. Muhammad Yusaf was the descendant of the Prophet who came to Multān in 1088 in the reign of Alā-ud-Bahrām Shāh.³ **SHAMS TABREZ :** To the south of the tomb of Bābā Safrā is lying the shrine of Shams Tabrez, which was named after Shams-ud-din of Sabzāwar in Afghānistān, a descendant of the Imām Jāfar, who was born in 1165 A.D. The saint died in 1276, but the shrine was first built by his grandson in 1330.⁴ **SURĀ MIĀNI ;** At a short distance to the north of the civil station on the Rājghāt Road of the city of Multān is the shrine of Ali Akbar in Surā Miāni. The two buildings at the shrine are finely built and are profusely decorated with coloured tiles. The saint was the descendant of Shāh Shams-ud-din.⁵ **DERĀ ISMĀIL KHĀN** was founded in the end of the fifteenth century by the Baloch adventurer, Malik Suhrāb, who named it Derā Ismāil Khān after one of his sons. The town was swept away by the Indus in 1823, and the new town was then laid out on the hard uncultivated clay soil by Nawāb Sher Muhammad Khān.⁶

PĀK PATTAN was anciently called Ajodhan, which was for centuries the principal ferry of the Satluj. Here meet the two great western roads from Derā Ghāzi Khān and Derā Ismāil Khān, the first via Mankerā, Shōrkōt and Harappā and the second via Multān. At this point the great conquerors Mahmūd of Ghazni and Taimūr and the great traveller, Ibn-Battutā, crossed the Satluj. The fort of old Ajodhan was captured by Subuktigin in 977-978, during his plundering expedition in the Panjāb. Ajodhan was renamed Pākpattan (ferry of the pure) by Bābā Farid Ganj-i-Shakar in the thirteenth century.⁷

KABULĀ, is situated in Pak Pattan tehsil. Its foundation dates from the time of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq, when he visited

¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*—Vol. V, p. 131.

² *Ibid.* 132-134.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Persia*—Vol. I, Curzon, p. 21.

⁵ *Multān District Gazetteer*, p. 21

⁶ *Dera Ismail Khān District Gazetteer (1883-84)*, p. 199.

⁷ *Montgomery District Gazetteer*, pp. 31, 65-67.

pākpattan to pay homage to the shrine of Bābā Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. The Hindū tribe of Gakhars, who were there in occupation, were turned out and Dhudhis, who claimed to be the descendants from the Suraj Bansi Rājās and had been converted to Islām, had settled in their place.¹

MALKĀHĀNS, in Pākpattan tehsil, was founded in 1295 by Malik Muhammad alias Malkā, a member of the Hāns tribe. The only buildings of historical interest and of the archaeological value are the Wāras Shāh's Mosque built by the Hāns in 1340 and the Parnāmi temple.² Amb is situated five miles south of Sakesar in Shāhpur District. Here on a hill, inside the range and defended by steep cliffs from Attock from the direction of the plain country lying to the south were the remains of a massive fort in a very fair preservation with the ruins of three Hindu temples, large and small ones which were all of the Kashmirian style. The most probable dates seem to be 800 to 950 A. D. during the Hindū Shāhiyā dynasty of Kābul. The ruins at Amb are supposed to be the most southern example of the ancient and very peculiar Kashmiri architecture.³ **CHITTĀ**, situated at the foot of the Sakesar hill, was also founded during the Sultānate period and it was a station of importance during Balban's reign, who had built a military cantonment here to keep the turbulent Gakhar tribe under check in the Salt-Range. Some coins of Sultān Balban were found there in 1888.⁴

DHAMLAK town is situated about six miles north of Sahawa railway station in the Jhelum District, which was the town where Muhammad Ghori, was wounded in 1205, while returning to Ghazni. This town was built during the Sultānate period on the old site which had never been of a great size.⁵ The fort of **MALLOT**, twelve miles south of Katās is said to have been built in the thirteenth or the fourteenth century by Rājā Mal, a Junjua chief, whose descendants still held that village. Mallot is situated in the Jhelum District on one of those precipitous spurs which at intervals project slightly from the southern edge of the Salt-Range and commands a wide view over the plains below. The only remains of much antiquity are the temple and the gateway, which are in the early Kashmirian style of architecture.⁶ **CHAKWĀL** is situated about twenty-seven miles from Talagang on the main road which passes from Pind Dadān Khān to Rāwalpindi. Chakwāl is said to have been founded by a Mair Rājput, of Jammu, and was the seat of administration in the Dhanni country.

¹ *Montgomery District Gazetteer*, pp. 77-78.

² *Ibid.* p. 78.

³ *Archaeological Survey Reports*—Vol. XIV, p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁵ *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37.

This town was well situated on high firm ground, and drained by several ravines which form distinguishing features of the neighbourhood.¹

BATĀLĀ town, twenty-six miles from Amritsar towards the north-east was founded during the reign of Bahlōl Khān Lodi, in 1466,² by Rāi Rām Deo, a Bhatti Rājput of Kapurthālā, and the chieftain of his own clan. The country between the Satluj and the Chenāb at that time was to a great extent lying waste owing to disastrous floods and the ravages wrought by Jasrat Gakhar. The revenues of the province were granted to Rām Deo by Khān the governor of the Panjāb, for nine lakhs of tankas. Tatār Rām Deo Bhatti, became a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Qādiri of Lāhore, and was converted to Islām. The site first fixed for the city was considered unpropitious, and so on the advice of the astrologers, it was exchanged for that on which present town stands, whence the name 'Batālā' from 'Batāi' which means exchange, in the Panjābi language. The tomb of Rām Deo, consisting of brick building, with a sloping dome supported on enormously thick walls, constructed of bricks laid in mud, still exists to the south-east of the town.³ TĀHLI SAHIB is a temple known by its name from a large tree known as 'tāhli', which is close to it. The temple was effected by Bābā Siri Chand, the son of Guru Nānak, (1469-1538) the founder of the Sikh faith.⁴ HARIPUR is situated on the left bank of the Bāngangā, a tributary of the Beās. It was founded in the thirteenth century by Hari Chand the Rājā of Kāngrā (c. 1405 A.D.) whose brother had succeeded to the throne of Kāngrā on the Rājā's supposed death. Hari Chand had fallen into a dry well when out for hunting, and when he was extricated and heard of his brother's accession, he resigned his right and founded the town and fort of Haripur opposite to Galer, making it the headquarters of a separate principality. The fort of Haripur occupies one of the most picturesque situation in the District of Kāngrā.⁵

ĀDAMPUR is situated on the trunk road to Hoshiārpur eleven miles from Jallandhar. It is said that it was founded by Rāhi, a Lit Jat, and was originally known as Rāipur. Subsequently it came into the possession of Bhāun Jats, who sold it to Ādam Khān, an Afghān of the Dhogri⁶ family. The ancestor of Ādam Khān, Tātār Khān by name, had come with Mahmūd of Ghazni and was awarded the village of Dhogri in Jagir. Ādam Khān had

1 *Archaeological Survey Reports*—Vol, V, Cunningham, pp. 85-90.

2 *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*—D. Ross, p. 232.

3 *India of Aurangzeb*—J.N. Sarkār, pp. 83-84.

4 *Ibid.* p. 30.

5 *Kangra District Gazetteer*, p. 254.

History of the Panjab Hill States—Vol. I, H. Vogel, pp. 134-135.

6 An Afghan Village, 8 miles from Jallandhar to the north on the Jallandhar-Pathankot Railway line.

renamed it after himself.¹ ĀUAR is a village in the south of Nawānshahar on the pucca road, which runs between Rāhon and Phillaur, eight and a half miles in the west from Nawānshahar. It was founded in the tenth century. It probably overlooked the low lands of the Satluj, and had an extensive swamp. It was first held by Afghāns, and after one of them, Khamosh Khān, it came to be called Awar Khamosh Khān. Subsequently it came into the possession of the Ghorewāhā Rājputs, whose descendants, some Hindū and some Muslims have been the master of it.²

DHOGRI is situated about six miles north-east of Jallandhar. It was founded by Dhug Jats a little before the advent of the Ghaznavids. But the village was given to one Tātār Khān, who came with Mahmūd of Ghazni and since then it became one of the oldest seat of administration of the Afghān colony of Jallandhar District. Dhogri had remained an important Mahāl during Akbar's reign³. JĀDLĀ, is situated seven miles from Nawānshahar, and it is said to be founded by Bhājo, a Ghorewāhā Rājput in the fourteenth century. It had derived its name from a dense growth of the sam (jhār) plant then very much grown there. One of Bhājo's descendants had become a Muslim and the village was held by both the Hindūs and the Muslims. It was one of those villages in the Panjāb, whose proper name ought not to be mentioned before eating something in the morning and till then it should be called Qasba.⁴ MAHATPUR is a village in the Nikōdar tahsil, situated about five miles south of Nikōdar, over the low lands. It is said that this village was founded by one Muhammad Khān and its lands were mostly owned by Afghāns till 1946 A.D. This place is of considerable antiquity and is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbari under the name of Muhammadpur.⁴ NAWĀNSHAHAR is situated on the metalled road from Jallandhar, to Chandigarh thirtyfive miles from Jallandhar, towards the east. It was built by Nāusher Khān, an Afghān, in the time of Alā-ud-din Khilji by the side of a lake. There is a Bārādari which was built by Sādiq, who was a Khatri of Pasrūr in the Siālkot District, and while a Hindū, he was called Bihāri Mal. He had settled at Nawānshahar and got involved in a quarrel with the Bhushar Khatri who were numerous there in the course of which two of the latters were killed. Bihāri Mal was summoned to Delhi where he was obliged to turn Muslim, and after becoming Muslim, he assumed the name of Muhammad Sadiq.⁶ TALWAN is a village in Phillaur tehsil built on the up lands of the Satluj. Formerly the town was situated in the

¹ *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, pp. 102, 282.

² *Ibid.* pp. 282-283.

³ *Jullundur District Gazetteers*. p. 102.

Āin-i-Akbari—Vol. II, Jarrett-Sarkār, p. 320.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 284.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 291.

Āin-i-Akbari—Vol. II, Jarrett, Sarkār, p. 321.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 96-97,

low lands and was destroyed by the river. According to a popular tradition, originally it was held by Afghāns who were expelled by Munj Rājputs under Rāi Izzat or Rāijit, who came from the other side of the Satluj, and was given the Talwan territory for good service done to the Emperor Bābar.¹ KAPURTHALĀ, the capital of the erstwhile Kapurthalā state, was founded in the early part of eleventh century in the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni by Rānā Kapur, the mythical ancestor of the Ahluwālīā family and cadet of the royal Rājput house of Jaisalmer. This town remained a place of no importance throughout the Muslim rule.² But later, during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, Kapurthalā remained headquarters of very important Sikh states. SULTĀNPUR is situated sixteen miles south of Kapurthalā. According to a tradition, this town was founded in the eleventh century by Sultān Khān Lodi, a general of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni. During the Sultānate period it was one of the chief towns of the Jalandhar Doāb, and is also mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbari as a town of considerable importance, and remained so, being on the Imperial high road between Delhi and Lāhore, till the time of the invasion of the Panjāb by Nādir Shāh, who sacked and burnt the town, since when it never recovered its former prosperity. The Emperor Aurangzeb and his brother Dārā Shikoh are said to have received their education at this place, in and about which many buildings of the Sultānate period are to be seen³ even now.

LUDHIĀNĀ, was founded in the time of the Lōdi Sultāns on the site of a village, called Mirhata, the date recorded being 898 A.H. (1481 A.D.). The founders of Ludhiānā were Yusaf Khān and Nihang Khān Lodis. Ludhiānā is the corruption of Lōdi-ānā, meaning thereby belonging to the Lōdi Sultāns. Under the Lōdi Sultāns, it was the seat of government for this part of the Delhi Sultānate, and a large fort was built on the site of the present fort by Jalāl Khān, the grand son of Nihang Khān, the real founder. The situation selected for the site of this town was a slight eminence on the south bank of the Satluj, commanding the passage of the river on the high road from Central Asia to the Panjāb.⁴ It was mostly built by the prehistoric bricks obtained from the ruins of Sunet. MACHHIWĀRĀ is situated fourteen miles from Ludhiānā to the east, and is referred to as a big city in the Mahābhārat. Sujān Shāh-Wālī Masjid near the town of Machhiwārā was built in the time of Muhammad Shāh by the ancestors of Sayyid Qāsim Ali. The Masjid of Mehar Ali Shāh or Qāzi Masjid, was built of stone in the time of Sikander Lodi in 923 A.H.⁵ TIHĀRĀ : the modern village of Tihārā, is situated twenty-seven miles west of Ludhiānā in the high bank over the Satluj in the north-west extremity of the district. Tihārā might have been the capital of a

8 ¹ *Ibid.* p. 305.

² *Kapurthalā State Gazetteer.* p. 44.

³ *Ibid.* p. 45.

⁴ *Ludhiānā District Gazetteer,* pp. 232-236.

⁵ *Ludhiānā District Gazetteer,* (1517 A.D.), p. 237.

small Hindu kingdom before the advent of the Muslims, in this area, the site of which might be at a short distance from the present one. This place has been very prominent during the Sultānate period¹ and its ferry has played a very prominent part during the Sultānate and the Mughal periods. MALERKOTLĀ town was founded by Sadr-ud-din at Maler in, 1466. The founder of the Kotlā family, had settled at Bhūmsi, a village which lay on a tributary of the Satluj. The population of Bhūmsi rapidly increased and a new town was founded by Sadr-ud-din. It quickly became so large that it included the old village of Bhūmsi within its boundaries. Maler remained the headquarter of the State of Malerkotlā till Bayāzid Khān, the fifth in descent from Sadr-ud-din who founded Kotlā in 1656.²

HOSHIĀRPUR : The tradition ascribes the foundation of Hoshiārpur to two parties first to Hargobind and Rām Chand, Diwāns of Muhammad Tughluq and second to Hoshiār Khān, a resident of Bajwārā, who lived about the same period, and after whom the town was named Hoshiārpur.³ It is thirty miles north-east of Jallandhar and five miles from the base of the Shivālik hills, and is built on the bank of a mountain torrent in a very pretty situation, well wooded with the Himālayās in the back ground.

BAJWĀRĀ is a small town, two miles south-west of Hoshiārpur. It is said to have been founded by three immigrants from Ghazni, one of whom, Baju Baora, famous as a singer, gave his name to the town. It once occupied much more extended area than it does now, and the tradition says that it was eighteen miles in circumference. 'Todar Mal, Akbar's minister had broken up the town into small divisions as a punishment to the inhabitants for not receiving him with proper honour, when he was advancing towards Kāngrā fort.⁴ **GARHDIWĀLĀ** is situated eighteen miles from Hoshiārpur in the north on the metalled road to Dasuyā. The tradition is that the town was built in 1443, by Garhiā, a Jat, who named the village after him, and that the addition of the 'dewālā' was made in 1812 on account of the incarnation of the goddess Devi in honour of which event Sardar Jodh Singh Ramgarhi built a temple; this dewālā is said to be either a contraction for 'deviwālā' or the word 'dewālā' a temple.⁵

AMBĀLĀ is situated in the open plain between the Ghaggar and the Saraswati rivers. It was founded, during the fourteenth century, and the founder of this town was one Ambā Rājput, from whom it derived its name.⁶ **BARDAR** is a small hamlet in the

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 14, 281.

² *Malerkotla State Gazetteer*, p. 44.

³ *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 215.

⁵ *India of Aurangzeb*—J.N. Sarkar, p. 83.

Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer, p. 217.

⁶ *Ambālā District Gazetteer*, p. 130.

Shivālik hills, ten miles east of Rupar, in Ambālā District. It was founded in the thirteenth century. The local tradition says that the place was once ruled by a Rājput Rājā of the Dahia tribe.¹ SADHĀURĀ is a small town situated near the Shivālik hills, twenty-six miles east of Ambālā on the Nakti or Sadhaurāwālī Nadi. The town is said to be founded during the reign of Mahmūd of Ghazni. It is the scene of a yearly fair, which is held at the shrine of the Muslim saint, named Shāh Qumars.² DĀMLĀ, is on the Jagādhari-Thānesar road, in Ambālā District five miles from the Abdullāpur railway station. This town is said to be founded by one Sayyid Haider Shāh in the fifteenth century. The Afghāns had prospered this town and had built their forts there.³

JHANG—The old town of Jhang the remains of which can still be seen to the west of the present town and close to the shrine of Nur Shāh is said to have been founded in 1462 by Mal Khān, the ninth in descent from Siāl the ancestor of the Siāls. Jhang remained the capital of the Muslim principality for a long time. The present town was further improved during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1698 by a Sanyāsi saint, Lāl Nāth, whose temple with its lofty pinnacle is a conspicuous object for miles round, as it rises high above the surrounding buildings.

FEROZEPUR, fourteen miles south of Kasūr, standing on the left bank of the Satluj, was founded in the time of Ferōze Shāh about 1360. It was originally a place of greater size which is demonstrated by the extensive ruins. The old fort must at one time have been a place of considerable strength. It is an irregular hunting ground one hundred yards long and about forty yards broad, formerly surrounded by a ditch ten feet wide and ten feet deep. There is a Hindū temple near the Bansānwālā gate, called the Gangā Mandir, which was built during the Sultānate period. The old fort of the city is now no more in existence but some traces of it are still left; the tomb of a Muslim saint called Nur Shāh Wali, situated on an eminence opposite the old tehsil, indicates the real site of the old fort.⁴ MAKKU is situated on the left bank of the Satluj, at the point where it joins the Beās and about twelve miles from Zerā. It was founded by the Naipals, a Muslim tribe in the eleventh century, who originally had come from Sirsā. There is no trace of any former inhabitants, and it was probably an entire waste.⁵

KARNĀL town is situated on the grand trunk road between Delhi and Ambālā, and it derived its name from Karnā, the rival of Arjunā of Mahābhārat epic. It would seem to have been a place of little importance in early times, as no mention of it occurs until

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 135-136.

² *Ibid.* p. 141.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 143-144.

⁴ *Ferozepur District Gazetteer*—pp. 260-263.

⁵ *Ibid.*—p. 31.

towards the end of the Sultānate period, whence it began to come into much prominence.¹ There are two mosques of the Sultānate period. KAITHAL is also a town of great antiquity, but it remained a great centre of the political activities during the Sultānate period. There is one tomb of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-din Balkhi, which was built by his grandson in 673 A.H. (1274 A.D.). The pillars and the cupolas are entirely of stones; the inscription on the cupola being in Arabic.² SHĀHĀBĀD is situated twelve miles from Ambālā on the Grand Trunk road to Delhi. The town was founded after the battle of Tirāuri, in 1192 by a follower of Shihāb-ud-din Ghorī, the first Muslim conqueror of Delhi. The Afghān troops who settled in the new town were granted fifty-two thousand 'bighās' of revenue of several neighbouring villages. Shāhabād itself was attached to Sirhind during this period for purposes of administration. The religious Muslim buildings of this town reflect its history. The mosques with their dark square domes, are typical of Pathān architecture. The royal Sarāi was also built during the Sultānate period.³

FATEHPUR is situated three quarters of a mile to the north of Pundri and was founded by Alā-ud-din in commemoration of the news, which reached him when encamped on the site, informing him simultaneously of the victory of his army and the birth of his son. The tribes, who he settled there, were Kalans and Gujars from Pundri, but while the former continued to flourish, the latter became extinct. On the eastern side of the village is the tomb of the holy warrior Qutab-ud-din of Balkh, together with that of two companions who fell with him in battle fighting on behalf of Shihāb-ud-din Gori. Alā-ud-din, had erected a small mosque there in the memory of the warriors on the occasion of the founding of that village.⁴ BARSAT village was founded in 662 A.H. (1263 A.D.) by Ghulām Haidar, who migrated from Muhammadpur. The name Barsāt is said to the fact that it gives the date of foundation by the abjad computation.⁴

GHURHĀM, sixteen miles south of Patiālā, erroneously spelt as Kuhrām, by all contemporary Muslim historians, was an ancient town in the Panjāb and was also known as Rāmgarh. The tradition says that this town was the abode of the 'nansāl'⁶ of Rām Chander, the hero of the Ramāyanā and the king of Ajodhiā. The town was ancient place with many ruins in its vicinity, which show that it was a great town in former days. Ghurhām was one of the forts which was first surrendered to Muhammad Ghorī before he could advance to Delhi. The town was then entrusted to Qutab-ud-din Aibak, who made it the seat of the capital of his empire till

¹ *Karnal District Gazetteer*—pp. 210-213.

² *Ibid*—p. 213.

³ *Karnal District Gazetteer*, pp. 216-217.

⁴ *Ibid*. p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 221.

⁶ The house of the maternal grand father.

Delhi was finally subjugated. After that Ghurhām remained the headquarter of a sub-province of the same name throughout the Sultānate period. MANSŪRPŪR is situated, twenty-five miles to the west of Patiālā on the Rājpurā-Dhūri railway line, which is generally known by the name of Chhintānwālā. Its first historical mention dates from 1236, when the Sultān Rukn-ud-din Ferōze Shāh, the son of Sultān Altutmish, led his army towards Ghurhām and in the vicinity of Mansūrpūr (Chhintānwālā) and Tarain (Tarauri in Karnāl) he put to death a number of his Tajik officials. Since then, like Sunām and Samānā, it formed one of the great fiefs round Delhi. Sometimes during the early Sultānate of Delhi, it was made an important cantonment under a military Commandar. Ferōze Shāh Tughluq had cut a canal to irrigate Sirhind, Mansūrpur and Sunām. There was also a small fort of this period. Accordingly to a tradition NĀRNAUL, was founded in the eleventh century, near the Dhosi hill in the midst of a vast forest, and was thus formerly called 'Nāharhaul' or the lions dread. According to another tradition this town was founded by Rājā Lannkarn, after whose wife, Nār Laun it was named Nārnaul.

After that period it fell into the hands of the Muslims and first is mentioned by the Muslim historians as given by Altutmish in fief to his Malik Saif-ud-din, afterwards fuedatory of Sunām.¹ Nārnaul remained under Malik Kuttahtagin Āzam, Mubārak, Amir of Nārnaul under Ferōze Shāh Khilji, according to Ghairat-ul-Kamāl of Amir Khusrau. In 1441, Nārnaul was held by Iklim Khān and Bahādur Nāhir.²

PĀEL is situated about four miles to the west of Chāwā Pāel railway station on the Ambālā-Ludhiānā railway line and was founded in the fourteenth century. The story of the founding of this town is that, that Shāh Hasan, Muslim saint, took up his abode on the ruins of a village. The Sōni Khatris came from Chiniōt to this place and at Shāh Hasan's advice they settled there. While digging the foundations of their houses they found a 'Pāel'³ or 'Pāzeb', which was brought to the notice of the saint, who advised them to name the place after the ornament. Shāh Hasan's tomb stands there, till today, where a fair is held yearly. In 1236, the rebellious Malik Alā-ud-din Jāni was killed in Nagawān in the parganā of Pāel by the partisans of the Sultānā Raziā.⁴

SAMĀNĀ is situated, seventeen miles south-west of Patiālā. Its original name is said to have been Naranjan Kherā, and subsequently it was known as Ratangagarh, Dhōbi Kherā and Samānā respectively. Samānā, recently connected with Patiālā,

¹ *Patiālā State Gazetteer*, p. 199.

² *Tārīkh-i-Farīshatā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 41.

History of India—Vol. II, E&D, p. 216.

³ 'Pāel' or 'Pāzeb' means a woman's foot ornament.

⁴ *History of India*—Vol. II, E&D, pp. 241-253, 330-337.

Āin-i-Akbari—Vol. III, Jarrett-Sarkar.

Jind and Narwānā by metalled roads, humming with life reminiscent of its past glory, is a place of considerable antiquity and it came into prominence during the rule of the Sultānate of Delhi. Tradition avers that the Imāngarh covers its original site. It is frequently mentioned by the Muslim historians with Sunām, Ghurbām, Lāhore and Shivālik as a fief of the Delhi Sultāns.¹ There are some houses built by the Afghān residents (now migrated to Pākistān) which are of great architectural value. There is a mosque of great antiquity. The whole town is built in the old style in a compact way. The buildings, which are mostly built of small bricks of the early Muslim style, betray its old glory. The multi-storeyed houses of the Sayyids, now occupied by the refugees from the other side of Wagāh, dimly reflect the grandeur of the past. SIRHIND, situated on the grand trunk road between Ambālā-Ludhiānā, is also the town of great antiquity. Sirhind became the fief of the Sultānate of Delhi after the Muslim conquest of the Panjāb. It remained the seat of administration of the province of Sirhind during this period and under the great Mughals as well, Sirhind was the most flourishing town of northern India. It is said to have had three hundred and sixty mosques, tombs, sarais and wells.²

SUNĀM, which is a place of great antiquity is situated on the Ludhiānā-Jākhāl railway line. The present town was built within the walls of an old fort. Though now of a little importance, Sunām played a great part in the history of the Panjāb during the period of the Sultānate of Delhi. When Qutab-ud-din Aibak visited this town and found it resembling like the hump of a camel, he named it Sunām, which is an Arabic word and means the hump of camel. Sultān Shams-ud-din Altutmish gave this town in jagir to his page, Sher Khān. Ghiyās-ud-din Balban gave it to Timar Khān with Samānā on the death of his cousin Sher Khān, and subsequently he further conferred it on his own son, Bughrā Khān.³ Ferōze Shāh Tughluq had dug a canal which was passing through Sirhind and Mansūrpur (Chhintānwālā) to the town, in 1360 and the town of Sunām was plundered, in 1398 by Taimūr.

KALIĀNĀ town or Chal Kaliānā, is said to have been the capital of a Rājā of Kaliān whose 'gotrā' was Chal after which the town was named. In 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.) the Rājā Kaliān rebelled against Alf Khān, the son of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq. The imperial army under Sayyid Hidāyat Ullā or Mubārīz Khān, attacked the Rājā Kaliān, and in the struggle, both he and Mubārīz Khān were killed and the town was placed under Mir Bayāk, an official of Alaf Khān.⁴ BĀWAL, is a town in Nābhā tehsil on the Rājputānā-Mālwa line and it was founded in 1148, by Rāo

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*—Vol. II, Jarrett, Sarkar, p. 115.

² *History of India*—Vol. II, E&D, pp. 200, 302, 333.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā*—Vol. I, Briggs, pp. 259-260.

⁴ *Jind State Gazetteer*, p. 335.

Sainmal, who was a Chauhān Rājput of Mandhan, now a village in Alwar. He named this town after the 'gotrā' of his 'Prohita'. One Bhujā, his descendant, greatly enlarged it and it began to be known as Bhujaka-Bāwal.¹

The general absence of antiquarian remains in this district tend to prove that this could never have been the site of a rich and popular government. Especially in the Kachhi tract, even if it could be fertile or populous, such remains could not survive the action of river floods, and this tract must at one time have been much wider than it is now. The Thal, however, is admirably suited for the preservation of antiquarian relics if any such ever existed.

HISSĀR was founded in 1358 by Ferōze Shāh Tughluq and was supplied with water by means of the canal now known as the western Jamunā Canal. It was made the headquarter of Sarkār by the Sultān and was named as Hissār-i-Ferōzā. In 1408, it fell into the hands of the rebels against Muhammad Tughluq, but was recovered, in 1411 by the Sultān in person. The Sultān built there a palace, the remains of the under ground apartment of which still exist there. It is said, these apartments were so arranged that a stranger wandering among the dark passages, which connected them, would inevitably be drawn towards a small dark room in the centre to which if he tried to extricate himself, he would invariably return.²

FATAHABĀD, thirty miles north-west of Hissār was founded about 1352 by Sultān Ferōze Shāh, who named it after his son Fatah Khān, and had a canal dug to it from Ghaggar. The fort of Fatahabād contains a pillar, inscribed with the genealogy of Ferōze Shāh and bearing an inscription in Persian giving an account of the Tughluq family.³

GOHĀNĀ town is the site of a fort belonging to Rājā Pirthvi Rāj, afterwards destroyed by Muhammad Ghori. A yearly fair was held here at the shrine of Sāh Zīā-ud-din Muhammad, a saint who accompanied Muhammad Ghori.

HĀNSI lies on the Western Jamunā Canal and on the Delhi Sirsā road, sixteen miles to the east of Hissār. There is one tomb of Niāmat Ullāh in the fort, erected soon after Muhammad Ghori's conquest of Hānsi, and Hindū materials appear to have been freely used in its construction. The mosque and the tombs of the four Qutbs are interesting relics situated on the west side of the town. This place consists of three enclosures, in one of which is the mosque with a tank built in 1491 A.D. by Abu Bakar Jawani. It is observed by the Archaeological authorities that the tombs built

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 244-247.

³ *Ibid.* p. 255.

here are to be among the best architectural remains in the whole of the Panjāb.¹

FARIDKOT town, which is situated about twenty miles south of Ferōzepur, was founded in the thirteenth century by one Rājā Mokulsi who called it Mukulhar, but the name of the fort was soon after changed to Faridkot after Bābā Farid, a local saint.²

The works of fine arts are an emblem of civilisation and a mode of living. The mingling of austerity of the Muslim art and the embellishment and feminine grace of Hindū art led to the creation of an art, the like of which had not been found in the Panjāb before. The Sultāns employed Hindū craftsmen. Though they worked directly under the directions of their Muslim masters, yet they worked unconsciously for the formation of a Hindū-Muslim School of Art. After arrival in the Panjāb, the Muslims began to like the decorations in the Panjāb buildings in their indigenous style and spirit. The Sultāns and the nobles were extremely fond of laying the foundation of cities.

¹ *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 249-250.

² *Faridkot District Gazetteer*, p. 62.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The Sultāns always attached great importance to the province of the Panjāb. Politically it was the main channel through which the fine and brave soldiery recruited from Khurāsān or Central Asia came into the country. Accordingly, without complete domination of this province, no Sultān could ever feel secure on the throne. With the advent of the Ghaznavids, Panjāb became a part of the Ghaznavid Empire. Mahmūd annexed it after the fall of the Hindū Shāhiyā dynasty and entrusted the administration of this province, to his most trusted generals. Without the firm hold over this province, his lines of communications would have been unsafe and he would not have been in a position to move fearlessly into the heart of the Gangā-Jamunā Doāb. With the formation of the north-west Panjāb into a trans-montane province of the Ghazni kingdom, with Lāhore for its governor's seat, the safety of the Indian plains was lost. After the death of Mahmūd, it was the Panjāb which sheltered Sultān Masud, when defeated by the Seljuqs and he fled from Ghazni. The Ghaznavid rulers were uprooted from Ghazni by the Guzz Turks in 1160. And the last ruler of Ghaznavid line, Khusrau, had to establish his capital at Lāhore.

Muhammad Ghōri attached equally great importance to the Panjāb in planning his Indian campaigns. He first attempted to advance into India through Sindh and Multān, but it did not take him long to realize that the key to India lay through the Panjāb. He changed his strategy and first captured the Panjāb from Khusrau. By 1192, Muhammad Ghōri had become the master of Multān, Sindh and Lāhore and annexed these provinces to his Empire. The occupation of this province had opened the way for further conquests of India. After achieving the victory over the Chauhān ruler, Pirthvi Rāj, Muhammad Ghōri had to capture the strongholds of Ghurhām, Hānsi and Sarusti and appointed his own Turk garrisons there.

Under the Sultānate of the Mamluks every new Sultān who even attempted to capture the throne, had to count upon the support or connivance of the governors of the main provinces of the Panjāb such as Lāhore, Dipālpur, Multān, Hānsi and Samānā were generally instrumental in exalting him to the throne. Qutab-ud-din Aibak came to the throne with the help of the Governors and nobles of the Panjāb. Altutmish had to face great difficulty at the time of his accession as he did not have the consent of the governors of these provinces. And he was always insecure on the throne. During his twenty-six years' reign he was troubled

by the Gakhars of the Salt Range, Nāsir-ud-din Qabacha of Multān and the Mughal invaders. Balban had to take maximum precautions to keep a complete hold over this province because otherwise his Indian Empire could at any time be lost to the Mughals. It was on this account that he entrusted the governorship of Lāhore and Multān to his cousin Sher Khān, one of the most renowned men of his age, who kept the Mughal menace and other disruptive elements in check for full twenty years. Sher Khān was replaced by prince Muhammad Sultān, surnamed Tāj-ul-Malik, who was a youth of great talent and a brave general. Balban's son, the Prince Martyr, was the governor of Multān, who died fighting against the Mughals and this hastened the aged Sultān's death. Balban further converted the Panjāb into military zones, under the military commanders of proved ability.

The Khiljis also did not attach any less importance to this frontier province. Jalāl-ud-din Ferōze Khilji appointed his second son, Husām-ud-din as the governor of the province to check the Mughals, and ostensibly strengthened the military cantonments in the north-west frontier. At his accession; Alā-ud-din Khilji had to fight against Arkuli Khān, the Governor of Multān. It was with the capture of Malika Jahāni, Malik Ahmed Chap and Arkuli Khān, all assembled at Multān, that he could proclaim himself Sultān. He had to appoint a most trusted and powerful governor in the person of Ghāzi Khān Tughluq, a man of iron will, bestowing on him the title of Malik-ul-Ghāzi. The Sultān got the military forts built by Balban, repaired and garrisoned them with strong troops. He also posted an additional army, charged with the duty of guarding the north-west frontier.

Under the Tughluq dynasty also the Panjāb was the arena where the fate of the future Sultāns of Hindūstān was decided. After the murder of Qutab-ud-din Mubārik Shāh, Khusrau ascended the throne, but ultimately he was put to death by Ghazi Khān Tughluq, the governor of the provinces of Lāhore and Dipālpur, who, assuming the title of Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq succeeded to the Sultānate. He appointed Bahrām Aiba, a strong man and an experienced general the governor of all the provinces on the banks of the Indus. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq further strengthened the Panjāb with military posts by building new forts and establishing garrisons up to the borders of Kābul. After his father's death Muhammad-bin-Tughluq had to fight against Bahrām Aiba and Kāshlu Khān, the governor of Multān, Sindh and Uch, to become the Sultān of Delhi. Ferōze Tughluq also did not relax the defensive measures of this frontier province.

The real test of the importance of the Panjāb for the Delhi Sultānate was exhibited during the invasion of Taimūr when it was thoroughly pillaged and plundered by the invader. On this occasion the provinces of the Tughluq Empire had begun to be converted into independent kingdoms. Sārang Khān, the Governor of Dipālpur who had occupied the whole of the North-western

region except Samānā, also repudiated the authority of Delhi. Under the factitious conspiracies in the capital, the Panjāb was left to itself. The defensive measures of this province were naturally neglected and fell easy prey to the invader. In his incredibly quick march, Taimūr massacred men, women and children indiscriminately and put the country all along his route to rack and ruin. On return Khizr Khān was reinstated to the governorship of Multān which Sārang had wrested from him before Taimūr's invasion. Taimūr further nominated Khizr Khān as the governor of the whole of the Panjāb. Khizr Khān was a capable man, who at once established perfect hold over this province. On the other hand, with the loss of the Panjāb, the Tughluq government lay prostrated and fully disintegrated. Khizr Khān ascended the throne by defeating the last Sultān of the Tughluq dynasty and founded the Sayyid dynasty.

During the Sayyid Dynasty, the Panjāb became still more an arena of political strife. Mubārak Shāh had to face the opposition of the governors of the Panjāb when he ascended the throne. When the successors of Khizr Khān were involved in mutual factions, the provincial governors began to declare their independence. Under the circumstances, the Panjāb again took the lead in challenging the authority of the Sayyid Sultān. Bahlōl Lōdi, Governor of Sirhind, occupied the provinces of Lāhore, Dipālpur, Sunām, Samānā and Hissār-i-Ferōzā, and ultimately occupied the throne. It was again at the instance of Daulat Khān Lodi the Governor of the Panjāb and on account of the neglect of this province on the part of Ibrāhim Lodi that Bābar founded the Mughal Empire in India.

Thus throughout the history of the Delhi Sultānate it was the province of the Panjāb which attracted the greatest attention of the Sultāns as the pivot of their empire in India. The tribal region between Afghānistān and the Panjāb generally known as the north-west frontier of India, formed part of the Delhi Sultānate and its control was always held by the strong, able governors of the sub-provinces of the Panjāb under personal and immediate attention of the Sultāns. Keeping this province strongly under their hold had made necessary for the Sultāns for the reasons :

1. The Hindū Koh-Range which separates Central Asia from Southern Afghānistān, Baluchistān and India is very low in the north of Herat and permits a passage to an invader from Irān and Central Asia to Kābul valley and India.

2. It was equally necessary for them to hold possession of the impregnable fortress of Qandhār. Situated at a highly strategic place it was the first of the Panjāb's defence. It was a great centre of trade also and was frequented by merchants from various parts of Asia for commerce and trade.

3. Although this region remained nominally under the suzerainty of the Sultāns it was necessary to control the turbulent

tribes such as the Yusufzais, the Khattaks, the Mohmonds, the Gakhars of the Salt Range and others. For operations against these tribes, the Panjāb was always the base of the Indian forces.

The Sultāns also greatly contributed towards the development of the Panjāb. On the eve of the Turkish conquest it was ruled over by the Hindū Shāhiyā dynasty which had not developed any administrative system that could be adopted by the Muslims. The Sultāns had to introduce the administrative set up of their own which they had borrowed from Umayyads, Byzantine and Irān. With regard to the civil administration it was at the initiative of the Sultāns that the Panjāb was divided into territorial divisions, generally known as 'Iqtās' or the provinces which were being administered by the 'iqṭādārs' (Muqtis) who were transferred from one territorial division to the other, from time to time, on account of the administrative and political expediency. Although in the early Sultānate period transfers of the governors were rare occurrences yet in later times these were frequent. Such important territorial divisions (provinces) were Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur, Bhatner, Sunām, Samānā, Hānsi, Sarusti, Ghurhām, Sirhind, Jallandhar and the Shivālik Hills. The foundation of Sultānate administrative system lay in the division of its territories into provinces, which were further divided into districts, the districts being sub-divided into sub-divisions which usually but not invariably conceded with old Hindū local areas.

The Sultāns had given strict instructions to the governors to the effect that their right over the people was only to take the rightful amount of money or requisite in a peaceful manner. The life, the property and the family of the subjects should be immune from any harm, and the 'Muqtis' will have no right over them. If the subject desired to make a direct appeal to the Sultān, the governors of the provinces should not prevent them.¹

Like the Sultāns in the centre, the provincial governors combined in their hands the powers of maintaining law and order control over the army of their respective 'iqṭās' realization of dues and provision for justice. The Sultāns had a regular chain of officials who looked to the welfare and needs of the people from top to toe. Among these officials, Kotwāl was the most important one who performed the routine duties of the police department. A town or a city was under his charge, and he exercised all kinds of powers. He held command of the fortress which during the Sultānate period was an essential part of a city. Only the appropriate persons for these offices could be appointed who were vigorous,² experienced, active, deliberate, patient astute and humane.

¹ *Siyāsatnāmā—Ali Hasan—Scheffer*, p. 37.

² Read *Tabqāt-i-Akbari—Vol. I*, Raverty, pp. 385 and 394, for the account of Aqsankar, the Kotwāl of Lāhore, who had defeated Tayar, the Mughal general, in 1241 A.D.

The Sultāns for practical reasons did not disturb the indigenous village administration in the Panjāb. It was this lowest ladder of the administrative set up where the bulk of the population lived. The rural people lived as they lived before in the most congenial atmosphere. The Patwāri and the headmen were the village officials who dealt with the people and for the state. There was in every village a 'Panchāyat' comprising of the village elders, who settled the disputes. The people the village constituted a small commonwealth and looked after their affairs and arranged for defence, watch and ward, elementary education and sanitation.

The Sultāns introduced entirely a new system of military administration. Before the Muslim invasion, each city of the Panjāb was walled round and conducted the defence by means of mercenary soldiers who lived in it and were noted for their bravery and fidelity to their employers. But mass of the people were not combined into one common nation. Each small Hindū state had its own compact boundary and their powerful resources but strongly integrated defence organization was wanting. The infantry of the Hindū Shāhiyā rulers was variously armed, most of them with bows and some with javelins, but many carried sword and shield only. The soldiers were handicapped by inferiority of equipment. But the Sultāns primarily based their army administration on force and not on the willing consent of the people. Every able-bodied Muslim was a military man. They further divided the army into four classes i.e. regular army, army of the provincial governors and the nobles, army employed at the time of war and the Muslim volunteers recruited for the holy war.

The army of the governors and nobles of the Panjāb was modelled organizationally on the basis of the army maintained by the Sultāns. But the main military force under the governors and the nobles was stationed in the forts, which were built at almost every strategic place of the province. In those days there was a dire necessity of building a chain of forts to check the menace of the Mughal invasions which were very frequent and the most devastating. Thus Multān, Lāhore, Dipālpur, Bhatindā, Bhatner, Hānsi, Sirsā, Ghurhām, Sunām, Sirhind, Mallot and Jalandhar forts were always kept ready, being garrisoned with the experienced troops under the command of the Kotwāls or the Faujdārs. - A fort was generally surrounded by a moat; there was an outer wall and a keep; some time there were concentric outer walls and the area round the forts was planted with thorny thickets or stones fixed thickly and irregularly to prevent horsemen approaching with any speed. These forts were traditionally provided with an underground passage or other secret means of escape. A great care was taken to keep it well stocked with provisions and efforts were made to avoid any dislocation in the normal life of the people.¹

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Minhaj-us-Sirāj, p. 257.

Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din-Barani, p. 116.

The Sultāns also showed a marked improvement in the revenue administration. For the purpose of collection of the land revenue, a separate department worked under the supervision of the 'Vazir' and his assistants, who were directly responsible for the realisation of the revenue from the main and the sub-provinces of Panjāb. Each provincial governor had a staff of graded officials such as tahsildār, who had under him a large staff of subordinate officials namely the 'Mushraf', the 'Karkun' the 'Balhar', the 'Maqaddam', the 'Chaudhri', the 'Patwāri', the Sarhang, and the 'Piyādā.' They had a revenue administrative machinery which worked or continued to work in spite of the change in the personnel of the provincial and central government. As a result of this, the Governors of the Panjāb were able to receive their provinces at the specified times. Out of the total sum, the Governors were authorised to spend as much as required for the government.

There was a great efficiency in the quick disposal of the revenue collections. The specified revenue was remitted by the provincial governors to the central Government. When the remittance was duly made, the amount of the revenue received at the capital passed through and was examined and scrutinised successively by the 'Diwān Ashraf' (Audit-Department); the Diwān-i-Nazr (Inspecting Department) and the Diwān-i-Vizārat (Revenue Ministry). Each department of the province had to forward the amount together with its own report till it reached the Sultān, and then under his special orders it was sent to the 'Diwān-i-Khāzin', who deposited it in the treasury.

The lowest unit of the revenue administration was the village which had its own indigenous system. The lordship of the village was vested in the joint body of clansmen, some kind of right was allowed to those of the older inhabitants who continued to cultivate the land. Reduced though they were to the status of tenants, and compelled to reside apart on the outskirts of the village, both equity and policy forbade their ejection from the land they cultivated.

As regards the judicial administration, the Sultān as the Chief enforcer of law and head of the state, exercised judicial functions which touched the administration of justice in several respects. When called upon to decide religious cases the Sultāns were assisted by the Sa'd-r-ul-Sadur and the governors of the provinces but in secular cases they had the assistance of the 'Qāzis'. For the efficiency and the smooth running of this department it was considered necessary to have a 'Qāzi' in every town. It was the duty of the Governor and the other provincial officials to help the 'Qāzi in maintaining the dignity of law and to cooperate with him in bringing wrong doers to the book. The villages were self-sufficient common-wealths and had their own Panchāyats, which not only decided all their disputes but also enforced their decisions. The Sultāns did not interfere in the judicial set-up in towns and rural areas, which in those days comprised ninety-five percent of the population, appointed judicial officers of its own to administer justice.

The penal law was very severe. Culprits were usually punished with mutilation and death. The usual practice was to make use of force and torture to extort confession from the convicts. The criminal code was severe and the punishments were deterrent. Sometimes in cases of rebellions the criminals were paraded in the city.

Economically the Panjāb remained rich and prosperous under the Sultāns. In spite of constant fighting on her soil, the peasants and traders had suffered little. The rural community was a working institution in full vigour, and determined the economic outlook of the population of the Panjāb. Its leading economic feature was production mainly for purposes of local consumption. In the economic life of the people of this province, agriculture was the main stay. The Sultāns were the owners of the land in practice and demanded from the peasants share of their produce, who had unfailing devotion to agriculture. The vastness of land had made life easy and inexpensive. Artificial means of irrigation were in vogue. The idea of digging canals and providing irrigation facilities was the outcome of the anxiety of the Sultāns to improve agriculture in the Panjāb. Large areas were brought under cultivation and better quality crops would produce more revenue. Balban is credited with the improvement of agriculture even when he was an ordinary noble. Ferōze Tughluq was the real founder of the canal system in the Panjāb. He not only encouraged the agriculturists but was also the author of the schemes of irrigation, while traces of his canals still remain.¹

Industrially this province was very sound under the Sultāns. There were guilds and crafts in the villages and the towns which carried on widespread commerce. The Sultāns patronised on a large scale industries which were carried in the localized areas that were situated in the close vicinity of the place where raw material was available in sufficient quantities to feed them. There were two kinds of industries; those that were under the State patronage and those that were purely private. The Sultāns and the nobles also set up state manufactories. The real impetus towards the industrial progress started in the fourteenth century. The manufacturers in the towns depended for most of their supplies on the country surrounding them. The preparation of flour and meal was in general a purely domestic undertaking. Sugarcane was mainly worked on into the crude form known as 'gur' in village presses and furnaces of the type still prevalent in the Panjāb. Oil pressing and cotton ginning were carried on by the primitive methods. Spirits were widely distilled from sugar by primitive methods, in spite of restricted edicts issued by the Sultāns.

Socially, the Hindū society consisted of four primary classes. Whatever the circumstances under which the system originated, it

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi*—Shams Sirāj Afif, p. 127.
Tārīkh-i-Feroze Shāhi—Ziā-ud-din Barani. pp. 567-571.

had resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of citizenship or loyalty to the motherland as a whole. There were many more sub-castes, wherein no man of one creed drank, ate or married with those of others. There were also sub-castes separated on occupational basis. The landed classes stood high and of these the Jats were the most important, and they played an important role in the political history of the province. The Sultāns on the whole had also patronised the Hindūs in all walks of life. They were rewarded with drums, banners and standards inset with jewels and dresses of gold brocade, and saddled horses were presented to them.

With regard to the Muslim society, from the very beginning of the Sultānate period, two broad divisions had persisted. The first were the men of the sword and the second were the men of the pen. The Turkish aristocracy comprised the men of the sword who supplied executive and military personnel, and always held the superior position in the State. The third element of the Muslim society was 'Awām-i-Khaliq' the Muslim masses, which included all the indeterminate city crowd, the artisans, the shopkeepers, the clerks and the petty traders. The converted Muslim population, which was very small at the beginning of this period, began gradually to increase till the close of the fifteenth century. This class consisted of the Hindūs of low castes. They were not admitted into the aristocratic status of the conquerors and also were not given even share of their social and economic privileges.

The Muslim and the Hindū mystics contributed a lot for the better understanding and bringing together both the communities during this period. The Sūfis among the Muslims and the Jōgis among the Hindūs had preached against the orthodox dogmas which were preponderated by the selfish religious leaders of both the communities. It was undeniable that the mysticism of the 'Sūfis' furnished Islām's philosophical point of contact with Hinduism. It is through such contracts fostered by the simplicity and broad humanism of the 'Sūfis' that Islām obtained its largest number of free converts, and it is in this sense that a 'Sūfi' is considered to be missionary.¹ These Muslim mystics were believers in non-violence, and like those of the 'Ahimsā' of the Hindū mystics, they disliked injuring any living being, man or animal. Their vegetarianism, whether due to spiritual or social consideration was bound to increase the area of contact with the Hindūs.

The position of a Hindū woman was subordinate, and it was considered that she was to serve the male and was dependent upon him in every stage of life. But with the advent of the Muslims, the position of a Hindū woman had worsened all the more. After the fall of every fort or a city during the war, the Hindū women suffered every kind of privation. Sometimes even in the times of peace, this sex remained the real target of suffering at the hand of the Muslims. The status of the Muslim women was very low,

¹ *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*—Habid Ullah, p. 305.

as if the Muslim women had no souls. They were too much the servants of their husbands' passions and the toys of their idle hours.

The masses, consisting mostly of peasant women moved about freely without wearing any veil or shrouds. They did not live in seclusion and observed only 'Ghungat.' The respectable ladies went about in litters which were carried by two or sometimes by four litter-bearers, accompanied by their male servants or eunuchs. The Muslim women of middle class used what are now called 'Burqā' or long garments, covering their heads coming down to their ankles. The customs of 'Jauhar', 'Sati', female infanticide, child marriage and 'pardā' had created a hell on earth for the female sex. The Gakhars were particularly known for female infanticide. The practice of 'Sati' among the Hindūs was much prevalent, but in the Panjab this custom was confined to the upper classes of Hindū society and was especially favoured by the martial classes. Muhammad Tughluq was the first Muslim king who raised his voice against this abominable practice of burning a living widow with her dead husband and tried to suppress it. The Sikh Gurus and especially Guru Nānak, had emphatically raised his voice and preached against this detestable practice among the Hindūs.¹ Prostitution was quite popular during this period. The public prostitutes were closely associated with music and dancing which occupied a very important place in the scheme of social pleasures.²

Dresses in the Panjāb had undergone numerous changes, yet the older male and female dresses have survived to our own times, both among the Hindūs and the Muslims. Right from the Sultāns and the nobles at the top down to the man in the street, the Muslims had been thoroughly Panjabinized. The people wore rings, set with precious stones as well as ear rings, set with fine pearls, and they anointed themselves after bath with white sandalwood, aloes comphor, musk and saffron. Antimony for eyes, vermilion for effecting the parting of hair, musk for breasts a certain black powder for eyebrows dentif-rice for teeth and betel leaves for reddening lips and sweetening breath were some of the articles of ornamentation.

The Panjābis have always been very fond of sports, even though they had to bear the brunt of the invaders. But in times of peace they indulged in pleasures and pastimes and recreative sports. After a long day's toil, the villagers used to come out of the village and assemble in a common piece of village land, where all young men participated in all sorts of sports. It was this arena where all Hindū and Muslim youths embraced themselves and used to jump into the arena in a team spirit. It was here that both the communities had lived like real brothers forgetting all differences

¹ *Adi-Granth—Suhi ki Vār*, p. 787.

² *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustān—Mohd. Ashraf*, 227.

of communal frenzy created by the urbanities for their own personal ends.

Slavery was fairly common. The employment of slaves had become general and was by no means confined to Muslims alone. Hindū noblemen and chiefs began to employ slaves for military and domestic purposes. There were regular and bonafide markets for the sale and the purchase of these slaves all over the province.

The fairs or the 'melās' were very common and they were usually semi-religious gatherings. They were almost connected with the Hindū or the Muslim shrines. An important feature of such fairs in this province was the making of offerings at the shrines, and the distribution of food from the free kitchens. Periodical fairs of both the communities were held at Pākpattan, Multān, Jawālāmukhi, Kāngrā, Nankānā Sāhib, Kurukshetra and at Nigāhā.

It was in the domain of education and literature that under the Sultāns, the Panjāb had been benefited remarkably. During the Ghaznavids many famous scholars of Arabic and Persian had settled at Lāhore and began to teach the people. Some of those scholars rose to the great eminence and their fame remains even up to this day. The Mamluks were also great patronisers of education and literature as their courts had become a refuge for the learned who were driven away from their homes by the Mongols. Colleges were opened at Lāhore, Multān, Samānā and Jallandhar where higher education was imparted under the royal aid. Schools were opened all over the province where three R's were taught to the students of both the communities. But there was hardly any secular approach to education. The location of the Muslim and Hindū schools in Mosques and Temples respectively, was enough to give a religious bias to education. Hindū scholars concentrated on the study of religious books like the Vedas, the Upnishads, the Epics and the other Hindū Shashtras besides logic, grammar and literature. The subjects of study in Muslim schools likewise were of a religious nature. Great emphasis was laid on theological education.

The standard of education was high although it was neither compulsory nor universal. Only those who had keen desire to acquire knowledge used to join schools. There were no printing presses and no text-books to study as today, and hence there was no strenuous taxing of the memory. Grammar was the basis of the study of language and there was no other short cut way for acquiring mastery over it. Instruction was given under primitive conditions beneath the shade of a large 'Pipal' or 'Banyan' tree in the courtyard of a temple or a mosque or within the shed which constituted the assembly hall of the village community. Arabic and Persian literatures flourished under the Sultāns. And it was in this period that the Panjābi language had its birth. Although the earliest phase of Panjābi literature synchronises with the times in which the

modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages were shaping themselves into distinctive independent language, but its period extends from the eighth to the middle of the fifteenth century. The subtle beauty of the literary composition of Shaikh Farid and Guru Nānak most explicitly envisages the presence of what Dr. Mohan Singh calls "a pretty long Pre-Nānak Age of Panjābi Literature."¹

During this period, the Hindi language did not come into literary use in any appreciable scale. It was the mixture of various dialects which was steadily developing as a literary language being particularly in use among the wandering religious preachers, who were in early mediaeval times moving all over Northern India, preaching the special religious ideologies. With the break up of the Hindū Shāhiyā kingdom in the Panjāb, Sanskrit lost its hold and we do not find any reference to its development in this province, with the exception of translations a few Sanskrit works into Persian. Urdū, as a common language that gradually began to emerge as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and the other Central Asian peoples on the one hand and the Hindūs on the other, took its birth during this period but it came into use as a language which began to flourish very late during the Mughal period.

The Sultāns were great lovers of fine arts, but very few early architectural remains of the period are in existence to assess a clear picture of this art. It is true that by the twelfth century the Sultāns had evolved distinctive architectural conventions and forms to suit their religious and social needs. Many of the constructional and decorative details of the fifteenth century were inherited from the preceding centuries, yet there were some innovations introduced. The Hindū tradition in architecture of the Sultāns mingled with the simplicity of the Muslim design and enriched the very riches which the faithful faced while praying to the Eternal God.² Architecture played an important part in the development of gardening. But the art of painting was not patronized by the Sultāns, since this art was believed by the Muslims to be anti religious. However, the art of calligraphy had a great impetus and the Governors of Lāhore, Multān, Dipālpur and Samānā were great patrons of calligraphists. There was a noticeable decline in the art of sculpture with the advent of the Muslims in the Panjāb.

The Panjābis played an important part also in the political history of the Panjāb. They exerted their utmost in fighting the invaders or spoilers of their motherland. But the Hindū policy in general lacked the strength to withstand the onslaughts of the Muslims of Central Asia. In the first instance, the Hindū rulers had generally no proper conception of the state. Secondly, in their

¹ *A History of Panjābi Literature*—Mohan Singh, p. 12.

² *Indian and Eastern Architecture*—Ferguson, pp. 197-198.

pride they had neglected the study of the art and strategy of war much too long, and their military organization was primitive and outdated. Thirdly, owing chiefly to the caste system, the people in general believed that sovereignty belonged to the Kshatriyā class, that kings were made and unmade by gods ; and that they had little to do with it. The sentiment of common nationhood was lacking. Lastly, the Muslim invaders had comparatively an advanced grip on political realities and their military organisation and strategy was very much superior. But, for all this, though the Panjābīs were defeated and lost their political independence, they never lost their entity and remained always at war with the conquerors.

The chief among those who struggled most for freedom were the Jats, especially the Gakhars. At present they are practically confined to the Rāwalpindi, Jhelum and Hazārā Districts, where they are found all along the plateau at the foot of the Himālāyās from Jhelum to Haripur in Hazārā. But during the Sultānate period "the Gakhars inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilāb (Indus), up to the foot of the mountains of Shivālik."¹ Under Rājā Anandpāl the Gakhars fell on the Muslim cavalry with desperate courage, beat down man and horse, and put to death from three to four thousand troops of Mahmūd's army. Throughout the Ghaznavid rule the Gakhars maintained their independence and it was only in 1206 that the joint efforts of Qutab-ud-din Aibak and Muhammad Ghori led to their defeat. All the same, the Gakhars killed the Sultān at Dharmyāk in the same year.

It was only during the rule of the stronger Sultāns like Balban and Alā-ud-din Khilji that this tribe had remained under check of the Governors of the Panjāb. As soon as government weakened, the Gakhars began to plunder the country around them and to extend their own principalities. During the reign of the Sayyid dynasty, they proved themselves much more dangerous than any other group in the province. Their leader, Jasrat Gakhar, extended an open challenge to the Muslim rule, and began plundering and devastating Muslim territory. He had reached up to Sirhind, when Mubarak Shāh came up to suppress him. During this period, the Gakhar leader had nearly succeeded in establishing a Hindū empire, but on account of his death and the accession of a strong Muslim ruler in the person of Bahlōl Lodi, the Gakhars could not realise their long-cherished desire of carving out their own kingdom.

The Jāts, Scythian brothers of the Gakhars, were equal partners in this struggle for freedom. When in March, 1027, Mahmūd set out for Multān to punish the Jāts, who had harassed his army during his return march from Somnāth, the Jāts fought bravely. Although they were defeated by Mahmūd, their villages were set to fire and their women and children were mercilessly killed, yet they did not submit to the invader. During the invasion of Taimūr

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Farīshṭā*—Vol. I, Briggs, p. 183.

the Muslim Jāts of Toḥānā gave a tough fight to the invader. It was for this sort of valour that the Jāts earned from Taimūr the epithet of demons.

As a general rule, the Muslim rulers had little sympathy with the Jāts, the landed Hindū community of the province. The Sultāns set themselves to levelling down such of their principalities as then existed, and in the course of time they began to disappear in the Panjāb.

As regards the province, occupied by the Rājputs under the Sultāns it can be briefly stated that from the Indus to the sources of the Ganges, the outer ranges of the Panjāb Himālayā were divided into numerous Rājput Hindū States, each under its own hereditary chief. Some of these principalities were founded as late as the fifteenth or sixteenth century, while others dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, and two at least—Kashmir and Trigarta or Jallandhara (Kāngrā)—were still older. The oldest classification of these states divided them into three groups, each named after the most powerful state which was once the head of the confederation. The first group consisted of Kashmir and the petty states between the Indus and the Jhelum the second included Jammu (Dugar) and the petty states between the Jhelum and the Rāvi; and the third comprised Jallandhara or Trigarta (Kāngrā) and the various small states between the Ravi and the Satluj. This division into three groups was in existence from a period earlier than the seventh century A. D.

Kashmir was the oldest and most powerful of these three states, and was founded long before the beginning of the Christian era. Previous to the seventh century its supremacy had been extended to the eastward as far as Trigarta (Kāngrā) and to the west of the Indus. In the ninth century, Trigarta was again conquered and for some time the sovereign power of Kashmir was carried to the Satluj. As late as the beginning of the twelfth century, it was still powerful enough to enforce its supremacy over the whole of the outer hills, between the Rāvi and the Indus, but its prestige was then on the wane and soon afterwards the smaller states became independent. The Hindū dynasty was replaced by the Sultāns in 1339 and in 1586 the country was subdued by Akbar and annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Jammu (Dugar) state is very ancient, but there is no mention of its founder in any document prior to the eleventh century. Kalhana, the author of the Rajatarangini, does not make any mention of Jammu, probably because Jammu did not become the capital of the state till a later period. The original capital of the State was at Bahu, but it seems to have been changed in the eleventh century to Babbapura, now Babor, seventeen miles east of Jammu town, where ancient remains are found. Various states associated with the Jammu state were: Jammū of Jamwāls, Mānkōt of Mānkōtiās, Jasrōtā of Jasrōtiā, Lakhanpur of Lakhan-

puriās, Sambā of Sambiāls, Tirikot of Tirikotiās, Akhnūr of Akhnuriās, Riāsi of Riāsiāls, Dalpatpur of Dalpatiās, Bhau of Bhauwāls, Bhōti of Bhātiāls, Chanehni of Hantiāls, Bandraltā of Bandrāls, Basohli of Balauriās, Bhadrawāh of Bhadrawāhiās, Bhadu of Bhadwāls, Kashtwar of Kashtwariās, Punch of Mangrāls, Kōtti of Mangrāls, Rajauri of Jarāls, Bhimbar of Chibhs, Khari Khariyali of Chibhs.

Jammu state was subdued in the reign of Kalasa (1063-89). In the fifteenth century the Hindū ruling family was disposed in favour of a son of the Muslim King of Kashmir, who married the daughter of the last Hindū Rājā.

The Kingdom of Jalandhara or Trigarta, as it existed almost down to the time of the Muslim invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century comprised the whole country between the Rāvi and the Satluj in the hills, except Kulu and also the Jalandhar Doāb in the plains. After the Muslim invasions had begun, the territory on the plains was lost and Nagarkot or Kāngrā then became the capital of the State. Another name of the country is Katoch from which the royal family derived its clan name.

Various states which associated with Jalandhar or Trigartā were Kāngrā of Katochs, Guler of Guleriās, Kotlā of Kotliās, Jaswān of Jaswāls, Sibā of Sibaiās, Dātārpur of Dadwāls, Nūrpur of Pathāniās, Chambā of Chambāls, Suket of Suketiās, Mandi of Mandiāls, Kulu of Kauluās, Kutleher of Kuttehriās, Bangahal of Bangahaliās, Shāhpur of Pathaniās.

The Chiefships of Jaswān, Guler, Sibā and Dātārpur were all off-shoots from Kāngrā. Traditionally, Jaswān is said to have become independent about 1170. The next separation was that of Guler about 1405. Sibā and Dātārpur were both off-shoots from Guler. Sibā was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century by Sibarn-Chand, a younger brother of the ruling Chief of Guler, who made himself independent and gave his own name to the new state. It corresponded precisely with the present Sibā Taluq of Kāngrā.

Kutleher was a small principality on the borders of Kāngrā and Hoshiārpur, and was founded about the eleventh century by a Brahman family from Sambhal near Morādābād, which after acquiring military power was regarded as Rājput. It was the smallest of the Kangra group of states.

A classification of a much later date than the one already described, divided the Alpine Panjāb, between the Indus and the Satluj into twenty-two Hindūs and twenty-two Muslim Chiefships, the former being to the east and the latter to the west of the Chināb. Obviously this classification must have been of comparatively late origin, for the rulers of many of the Muslim states did not embrace Islām till the period of Mughal ascendancy. This division also cannot be accepted without modification, as Bhadra-

waj, Riāsi and Akhnūr which were included among the Muslim states, were under the Hindū rule throughout the whole period of their history.

Some of the clan names cannot be at once identified ; for example, Katoch, Pathania, Dadwāl, Balauria and Hiuntal or Hantal. Katoch is the ancient name of Kāngrā, still in use till the early part of the nineteenth century. Pathāntā is from Pathān, an abbreviation of Pratiśthanā, the ancient name of Pathānkōt, which was the original capital of Nūrpur state. Dadwāl is from Dādā, a place in Sibā from whence the Dātārpur family originally came. Balauria is from Balor (ancient Vallapura), the original capital of Basohli state. Hiuntal or Hantal is from Hiunta, or Himta, the original name of Chanehni state.

The main cause, why the political condition of the Panjāb hills underwent hardly any change in the course of many centuries, lies in the nature of country. The extent of each state was, in original determined by natural boundaries, the mountain ranges of the Himālayā, and though exceptional circumstances might sometimes lead to extension beyond or reduction within these boundaries, the state would ere long revert to the limits set by nature. There were, however, occasionally certain districts not clearly defined by physical conditions, which were claimed by two neighbouring states, on the borders of whose territories they were situated, and these consequently often proved a subject of continuous disputes.

The Hindū States had been able to maintain their political status for such a long period because of their isolated position and the inaccessible character of the country. It was improbable, however, that they were entirely independent for any length of time. In the absence of epigraphical and literary evidence we may assume that the Western Himālayā formed part, nominally at least, of the great Empires of the Māuryās, Kushans and Guptās which followed one another in succession in Northern India. The Muslim invasions, which began in 1001, seem to have had little influence on the political condition of the hills. Kāngrā Fort was captured and plundered by Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1009, but there is no evidence that these incursions penetrated further into the mountains and till the early part of the twelfth century, Kashmir claimed supremacy, as she had done at an earlier period over the whole of the Western-Hills, from the Rāvi to the Indus.

Kāngrā probably lost all its possession on the plains soon after the beginning of the Muslim rule in the Panjāb. In 1021, Mahmūd left a garrison in charge of Kāngrā Fort, and in 1043 the Hindū princes under the leadership of the Rājā of Delhi retook it and set up a facsimile of the idol, which had been destroyed. The fort is said to have changed hands several times during the next five hundred years, but the Muslims were unable to retain possession for any length of time.

The political constitution of these Hindū states is a subject of great interest, but information regarding its earliest form is meagre and indefinite. Research is lacking on account of the paucity of material which is not forthcoming from any available source. However, it is fairly certain, that it was not uniform everywhere, though the general principles on which the administration was conducted were probably common to all the states. Each principality formed a separate and independent domain of which the Rājā was regarded as the sole proprietor, and the foundation-head of all rights in the soil. All the subjects of the state were his servants, and held their lands under obligation to render military and other services according to the conditions of their tenure. These were employed in three different forms of state service. The respectable men of good families, who paid revenue in cash only and were employed as soldiers or as attendants on the state officials. Those who paid revenue in cash and kind and were employed as soldiers or in carrying load for the troops on a campaign, and those who in addition to paying revenue in cash and kind were recruited to furnish forced labour (begār) in the capital.

Below the Rājā in rank were the feudal barons. Some of these were Rānās and Thākurs whose ancestors had enjoyed partial or complete independence before the founding of the state and had subsequently been reduced to the position of vassals. Others had received their titular rank as well as their jagirs from the ruling chief. In early times we know from the copperplates that some of the highest offices in the state were filled by members of this class. Some of the higher officers, as also the heads of the various branches of the royal clan, must also have ranked as Jāgirdārs, and all alike held their lands on feudal tenure under obligation to render military and other services to their liege lord, the Rājā.

The Rājā was the fountain-head of justice in his state and in all cases an appeal lay to him and his decision was final. The only other judicial tribunal was that of the wazir, a subordinate officer, called 'Thare da Kotwāl' who had limited powers for the disposal of petty cases in the capital, discharging duties similar to those of a chief constable. In the parganās, or administrative sub-divisions, the district officials dealt with petty cases locally by fine and imprisonment, there being a lock up in each Kōthi, as the head-quarters of each parganā was called.

In addition to these officers another officer called Kotwāl with a Mahta or writer was appointed for each parganā, whose duties were fiscal and criminal. He was also called upon, in case of need, to summoning the 'zamindārs' for military service. This office is said to have been very ancient. The material resources of these states were always limited and probably only few of them had an annual revenue of more than six lākhs of rupees while many of the smaller ones must have had much less.

APPENDIX—A
GOVERNORS
(1000—1526 A.D.)

1. THE PROVINCE OF LĀHORE

1. Anandpāl	999-1013
2. Trilochanpāl	1013-1014
3. Sārugh	1014
4. A noble	1021
5. Abdullā Qirātigin	?
6. Abul Fateh Dāmghāni	?
7. Abul Farj Kirmāni	?
8. Aryārūq (Alyaraq)	1031
9. Ahmad Niāltigin	1031-1034
10. ?	1034-1037
11. Majdud Ayāz	1037-1041
12. ?	1041-1048
13. Abul Qāsim Mahmūd	1048-1049
14. 'Ali-bin-Rabi'	1049-1051
15. Nushtigin Hājib	1051-1052
16. ?	1052
17. Hājib Tughāntigin	?
18. Muhammad Bahlim	1115-1118
19. Sālār Husain	1118
20. Khusraū Malik	1160-1186
21. Ali Kirmāj	1186
22. Qutab-din-Aibak	1194-1205
23. Muhammad	1206-1207
24. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1207-1218
25. Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd Shāh	1218
26. Malik 'Ala-ud-din Sher Khāni'	1236
27. Malik A'iz-ud-din Kabir Khāni	1236-1239
28. Malik Ikhtiār-ud-din Qarāqash	1239-1241
29. Mu'azzam Khān, Sher Khān	1241-1253
30. Arslān Khān	1253

31. Sher Khān Sanqar	1254-1270
32. Qaān-ul-Mulk Muhammad	1270-1286
33. Malik Turki	1286
34. Arkuli Khān	1292
35. Ghāzi Malik	1304-1321
36. Malik Tātār Khurd	1321-1342
37. Shaikha Gakhar	1394-1394
38. Nusrat Gakhar	1394-1394
39. Adil Khān' 'Malik Kandhrū'	1394-1398
40. Shaikha Gakhar	1398-1398
41. Khizr Khān	1398-1414
42. Malik Rajab	1421-1421
43. Malik Mahmūd Hassan	1421-1421
44. Malik Sikandar Tufhā	1421-1432
45. Shams-ul-Mulk	1432-1432
46. Nusrat Khān Gurg Andāz	1432-1433
47. Allāhdād Kākā Lōdi	1433-1433
48. Shaikh Ali	1433-1433
49. Shams-ul-Mulk	1433-1433
50. 'Imād-ul-Mulk'	1433-1441
51. Bahlōl Khān Lodi	1441-1448
52. Daulat Khān Lodi	1524
53. Mir 'Abdul' Aziz	1524-1525

2. THE PROVINCE OF MULTĀN

1. Shaikh Hamid Afghān	970-1005
2. Abul Fateh Dāud	1005-1010
3. Another Chief of Mahmūd	1010-1011
4. Masūd son of Mahmūd	1011
5. Nāmi, grandson of Mahmūd	1042-1049
6. Ali-bin-Rabiā	1049
7. Muhammad Balni	1118
8. Karmakh Ali	1086
9. Mir Dād Hassan	1203
10. Amir Muhammad Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1227
11. Malik Kabir Khān (Izz-ud-din Ayāz)	1227-1245
12. Malik Sher Khān-i-Sanqar	1246-1254
13. Izz-ud-din Balban	1254-1270
14. Prince Muhammad	1270-1284

15. A noble	1284-1288
16. Malik Jalāl-ud-din Ferōze	1288-1292
17. Arkuli Khān	1292-1295
18. Nusrat Khān	1295-1304
19. Tāj-ud-din	1332-1339
20. Babrām Aibā	1340-1341
21. Bahzād Khān	1341-1351
22. Tātār Khān	1359
23. Malik Mardān	1359
24. Malik Shaikh	?
25. Malik Sulaimān	?
26. Khizr Khān	1395
27. Sārang Khān	?
28. Khizr Khān	1397-1414
29. Malik Alā-ul-Mulk	1414-1427
30. Malik Rājab Nādira	1427-1430
31. Imād-ul-Mulk	1430-1431
32. Bahlōl Lōdi	1431-1432
33. Anarchy	1432-1442
34. Shaikh Yusaf	1443-1445
35. Rāi Sakrā Langāh	1445-1469
36. Hussain Khān Langāh	1469-1502
37. Sohrāb Dudāi	1502-1524

3. THE PROVINCE OF DIPĀLPUR

1. Qutab-ud-din Aibak	1192-1240
2. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1216
3. Shihāb-ud-din Habsh	1216-1224
4. Sher Khān	1225-1254
5. Muhammad Sultān	1255-1286
6. Malik Hussain	1286-1290
7. Malik Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluq	1291-1315
8. Ghāzi Malik	1315-1320
9. Ali-ul-Khasūs	1321-1329
10. Shāhū Lodi	1329-1342
11. Sikandar Tuhffā	1342-1355
12. Sārang Khān	1394-1398
13. Khizr Khān	1399-1414
14. Malik Rājab Nādirā	1414-1432
15. Imād-ul-Mulk	1433-1440

16. Bahlōl Lōdi	1441-1451
17. Tātār Khān	1451-1485
18. Daulat Khān Lōdi	1485-1524

4. *THE PROVINCE OF BHATINDĀ (TABARHIND)*

1. Prithvirāj II	1191
2. Qutab-ud-din Aibak	1192-1210
3. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1234
4. Malik Iltunīā	1236-1239
5. Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-din	1239-1246
6. Sher Khān Sanqar	1246-1259
7. Taimūr Khān	1259-1265
8. Muhammad (Bughrā Khān)	1266-1275
9. Tātār Khān	1275-1286
10. Malik Chhajū	1287-1295
11. Sayyid Salim	1399-1429
12. Faulād Turkbāchā	1430-1433

After this, Bhatindā was merged with Multān.

5. *THE PROVINCE OF SAMĀNĀ*

1. Qutab-ud-din Aibak	1192-1210
2. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1216
3. Sher Khān	1216-1246
4. Malik Ferōze Khilji	1246-1254
5. Bak Khān Aibak	1254-1257
6. Malik Nusrat Khān	1258-1258
7. Muhammad, Bughrā Khān	1258-1259
8. Taimur Khān	1259-1259
9. Sher Khān Sanqar	1259-1270
10. Muhammad	1270-1286
11. Malik Chhajū	1287-1295
12. Arslān Khān	1296-1296
13. Malik Kaklākhi	1296-1321
14. Malik Bahā-ud-din	1321-1338
15. Shāhu Lōdi	1339-1349
16. Kamāl-ud-din	1351-1376
17. Malik Kābul Kurān Khuān	1377-1387
18. Malik Sultān Shāh	1387-1389
19. Ghālib Khān	1389-1397
20. Bahrām Khān Turkbāchā	1397-1407

21. Zirak Khān	1407-1434
22. Muhammad Khān	1434-1441
23. Bahlōl Lōdi	1441-1452

6. *THE PROVINCE OF SUNĀM*

1. Qutab-ud-din Aibak	1192-1210
2. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1234
3. Sher Khān Sanqar	1235-1254
4. Bat Khān Aibak	1254-1257
5. Malik Nusrat Khān	1257-1258
6. Sher Khān Sanqar	1258-1259
7. Taimūr Khān	1259-1266
8. Muhammad (Bughrā Khān)	1266-1275
9. Tātār Khān	1275-1290
10. Malik Bahā-ud-din	1321-1338
11. Malik Muhammad Bak	1351-1362
12. Kamāl-ud-din	1363-1376
13. Malik Kābul Kurān Khuān	1377-1387
14. Malik Sultān Shāh	1387-1389
15. Bairam Khān Turkbāchā	1399-1407
16. Zirak Khān	1407-1434
17. Muhammad Khān	1434-1441
18. Bahlōl Lōdi	1441-1452

After this, the province was merged with Sirhind.

7. *THE PROVINCE OF GHURHĀM (KUHRĀM)*

1. Qutab-ud-din Aibak	1199-1210
2. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā	1210-1234
3. ?	?
4. Malik Ferōze Khilji	1246-1254
5. Bak Khān Aibak	1254-1257
6. Sher Khān Sanqar	1258-1259
7. Taimūr Khān	1259-1266
8. Muhammad (Bughrā Khān)	1266-1275
9. Tātār Khān	1275-1287
10. Malik Chhajū	1287-1295
11. Arslān Khān	1296-1296
12. Malik Yaklākhi	1296-1321
13. Malik Bahā-ud-din	1321-1340

14. Muhammad Khān 1341-1356

After this, the province was merged with the province of Samānā.

8. THE PROVINCE OF SIRHIND

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| 1. Malik Ziā-ud-din | 1186-1192 |
| 2. Qutab-ud-din Aibak | 1192-1210 |
| 3. Nāsir-ud-din Qabāchā | 1210-1224 |
| 4. Sher Khān Sanqar | 1224-1254 |
| 5. Muhammad Sultān | 1255-1286 |
| 6. Malik Husain | 1286-1290 |
| 7. Malik Ghiyās-ud-din | 1291-1315 |
| 8. Ghāzi-ul-Malik | 1315-1335 |
| 9. Malak Khatāb | 1351-1360 |
| 10. Shams-ud-din Aburjā | 1371-1387 |
| 11. Bairam Khān | 1406-1416 |
| 12. Malik Mubāarak | 1416-1418 |
| 13. Malik Sultān Shāh Lōdi | 1419-1427 |
| 14. Islām Khān | 1427-1431 |
| 15. Bahlōl Lōdi | 1431-1468 |

After this, the province was merged with Delhi.

APPENDIX—B

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

ATTOCK :—It is a well known fact that in the District of Attock the main fair in Tallagang used to be held at Jabbi, besides four fairs better known as Urs, which continued to be held at Makhad, on the Indus, in Pindigheb tehsil at the shrine of Sayyid Abdullā Shāh Sistāni known generally as Muri Bādshāh. At Attock a fair used to take place at the shrine of Sultān Sadr-ud-din Bukhārī in the month of August. Hasan Abdāl, situated on the top of a steep hill, contains the shrine of a celebrated Muslim saint of that name. This place is known to the Sikhs as Panjā Sāhib, because of the mark of the hand of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion. This is supposed to have been miraculously imprinted on one of the rocks, which is preserved in the historic Gurdwārā in the city, where it is still to be seen. Both these shrines were sacred places of pilgrimage of Mohammedans and the Sikhs alike.

RĀWALPINDĪ :—There is a well-known shrine of the Muslim saint Shāh Chirāgh in the city of Rāwalpindī where a fair is held every year. The saint lived there during the reigns of Sikan-der and Ibrāhim Lodi. A religious fair used to be held on the Khānqā of the saint. There was one more Hindū shrine known as Sangni temple in Gujar Khān where the people assembled in large numbers in the month of April. At the shrine of Sāin Ghulām Shāh in Kahūta tehsil, a fair was held every year on the 'Bārāwafāt.' Human beings and animals bitten by mad dogs or jackals were brought there and are said to be cured by drinking water placed in vessels on the tomb.²

GUJRĀT :—There was only one Muslim shrine of Pir Jāfar where a fair was held on his tomb. The tomb of the Pīr was situated on a high peak of the Pabbi above the village of Berā. This shrine, later, had 'jagir' of Rs. 471 in perpetuity on the condition that the institution was properly maintained.³

GUJRĀNWĀLĀ :—A fair was held since 1522, at Rohri Sāhib, in Eminābād, a Sikh temple of considerable sanctity which was connected with some of the austerities of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion. He was said to have made his bed there on a couch of broken stones and some of those were still exhibited to the faithful on the occasion of the religious fairs on the 13th April and on the Dewālī festivals. A fair was also held at Papnākhā four and a

¹ Attock District Gazetteer—pp. 121-122.

² Rāwalpindī District Gazetteer—pp. 102-103.

³ Gujrāt District Gazetteer—p. 54.

half miles to the north-east of Qilā Didār Singh, which was said to be the birth place of Rāni Loonā, the step mother of Puran Bhagat. At Dhaunkal, three miles to the north of Wazirābād, a fair was also held at the shrine of the great Muslim saint, Sakhi Sarwar Sultān, who was also known as Lakhdātā and whose headquarters were later established at Nagāhā, thirty-two miles west of Derā Ghāzi Khān. He was a very popular saint of the twelfth century who performed some wonderful miracles. He procured miraculous water. There is another shrine of Bābā Sāin Dāss, at Baddok Ghosāin, where the fair was held every year, since the year of 1468,¹ in the months of May-June.

SIĀLKOT :—The fairs were held at the shrine of Guller Shāh, popularly known as Gulu Shāh at Kōreki in Pasrūr, in October and also at the village of Throh.²

SHĀHPUR :—The important fairs of this District were held at Karana at the shrine of Koh Karana in the month of Phagan ; at the shrine of Shah Shamas and Shah Muhammad in the months of March-April, at Khushāb on the shrine of Hāfiz Dewān in the month of April ; at Shaikhpur near Bherā on the shrine of Sultān Ibrāhim in the months of April and May ; at Hazārā on the shrine of Shāh Shāhmdī, in the month of May ; and every year fairs were held at Tārtipur, Siāl Sharif, Nihang, Pir Sabz, Nabi Shāh, and Bherar.³

LĀHORE :—The Bhadar Kālī fair was held at Niāzbeg in honour of the Hindū goddess Bhadar Kālī Devi, who is potent for good or evil. Her temple is at Niāzbeg. The charāghān-dā-melā was held at the Shālāmār gardens on the last Saturday and Sunday in March. Originally it was a religious pilgrimage to the tomb of Madhō Lāl Hussain at Baghbānpurā, but as the fair became more popular it was moved to the gardens. The Rām Thamman fair was held in the village of Thamman, near Kasūr, in April on the Hindū festival of Baisākhi. The Dasehrā is a Hindū festival held generally in October, and lasts about ten days. The Muharram festival begins on the first of the Muslim month of that name. It commemorates the massacre of Imām Hussain and Hassan, the sons of Ali. The Taziās of Lāhore were noted for their splendour.

MULTĀN :—A big fair was held at the Sun temple in Multān from the time immemorial but this temple was later destroyed by the early Muslim invaders. It was again restored by the latter Sultān.⁴ A fair was also held at the temple of Prahādपुरi on the north edge of the fort of Multān. The temple took its name from Prahād, the hero of the story of the Lion or Narsingh Avtār of the God Vishnu.⁵ A fair was held at the shrine of Shāh Bahawal

¹ *Gujrānwālā District Gazetteer*—pp. 345-359.

² *Siālkot District Gazetteer*—p. 71.

³ *Shāhpur District Gazetteer*, pp. 127-129.

⁴ *Multān District Gazetteer*, p. 274.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 276-277.

Haqq, a renowned Muslim saint who died at Multān in 1266.¹ A largely attended fair was held at the shrine of Rukn-i-Alā alias Rukn-ud-din Abul Fateh, the grand son of the saint Bahawal Haqq.² The most remarkable shrine in Multān was that of Shaikh Muhammad Yusaf Gardezi near the Bōhar gate, where the Muslims used to gather in large numbers in honour of the saint. The saint had come to Multān in 1088 A.D., in the reign of Alā-ud-din Bahrām Shāh.³ This shrine was largely attended by the Muslim worshippers. Shams Tabre was born in 1165 A.D. and died in 1276 A.D. The guardians of the shrine were the Shiās.⁴ It was an ancient shrine, situated about three miles south of Kundal in Isā Khel tehsil. This place was visited by Rāmā, Sitā and Lakhshmanā during their exile and had since been held sacred by the Hindūs. A fair used to be held there once a year on Shivarātri and pilgrims come to bathe from long distances.⁵

JHELUM :—A fair used to be held at Choā Saidan Shāh from 25th 'Chet' to second 'Baisakh'. This was a very important religious fair in this District. The other fairs worth mention of this District were held at Katās, Tillā Jōgi, Grat and Mian Mohrā.

GURDĀSPUR :—The important fairs in this District were held at Ghaman, in January at the Shīvdwālā of Bābā Nām Deō at Achal on 13th April connected with the Shīvālā of Achleswar and at Kastīwāl in May at the Urs of Bābā Farid Godar, at Pathānkōt in honour of Parshōtam Rāi, at Barab in honour of Siri Chand, the son of Guru Nānak, and at Sultānpur, near Pathānkōt, which was one of the halting stations of the Sultāniā pilgrims to Dhaunkal.⁶

KĀNGRĀ :—Fairs used to be held at two temples at Baijnath which bear inscriptions in the ancient Shārdā character, dated 804-5 which give the pedigree of the princes of Karāgrāmā who were the kinsmen and feudatories of the Kings of Jalandhar or Trigarta. A large number of Hindū worshippers used to throng there.⁷ A fair was held at the Buddhist temple of village Chāri, near Kōt Kāngrā. The worshippers were attracted there from far and wide. An inscription found from the village, in 1854 A.D., contained the formula of the Buddhist faith, and the statue to which it belonged was that of the Tastric goddess Vajravārhi.⁸ The Dal fair was held at the Dal Lake at Dharamsālā and was

¹ *Archaeological Reports*—Vol. v, p. 131.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*—Vol. III, Jarrett, p. 365.

³ *Multān District Gazetteer*, pp. 284-285.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 288.

⁵ *Mīānwālī District Gazetteer*, p. 75.

⁶ *Shāhpur District Gazetteer*, pp. 127-128.

⁷ *Gurdāspur District Gazetteer*, pp. 74-75.

⁸ *Archaeological Survey Reports*—Vol. V, p. 177.

largely attended by the Gaddis and other Hindus in the month of September. The famous temple of Bhāggū Nāth, two miles to the east of Dharamsālā, was also largely attended. It was the famous temple of the goddess of Jawālāmukhi which lies in the valley of the Beās and was built over some natural jets of combustible gas that was believed to be a manifestation of the goddess. The principal fairs were held twice a year in the months of April and August during the Sultānate period, and toll tax of one anna per head was levied upon all pilgrims. The temple of Devi at Kāngrā, situated in the suburb of Bhawan, was among the most ancient places of religious gathering of the Hindūs, as it was one of the most renowned shrines of northern India. The festival at this temple was attended by the Hindūs from all over India.

JULLUNDUR:—Harballabh Hindū fair was held at the Sōdhal, where the offerings were taken by the Sāo Brahmans. During the period under our study, a big Hindū fair was held at the 'Guffā' (cell) the bathing place of the demon Jalandharā, and at the tank of Bhikamsar at Muhammadpur near Alāwalpur. A Muslim fair was held at the shrine of Imām-Nāsir-ud-din and at the Hafiz Alāmgir Masjid in the city. A Muslim gathering was held in large number on 5th Muharram at the shrine of Sayyid Ālim-Ullāh Shāh, where a Bahishti Darwāzā was instituted in the city in imitation of that of Bābā Farid Shakarganj of Pākpatan. Another important Muslim fair was held at Jalandhar in honour of Panj Pir, five learned instructors in Islām, appointed by Mahmūd of Ghazni said to have been killed there by the Hindūs during one of his invasions of the Panjāb. A fair was held at Kārā in Nikōdar tehsil where both the communities Hindūs and the Muslims used to assemble. It is being held since fifteenth century at the shrine of Mirān Shāh Hussain. A Hindū fair was held at the tank of Sūrajkund at Rāhōn,¹ in the same District.

HOSHIĀRPUR:—Three Hindū fairs were held every year at Chintpurni, the first in March-April, the second in July-August and the third in September-October. The shrine of the Hindū goddess was very much celebrated there. This shrine of Pir Nagābhā was situated in Basōli, about five miles from Unā. A fair was held every Thursday in May-June. A Hindū fair was held at Rājni Devi (Lahli Khurd) situated on Hoshiārpur-Māhilpur road in March-April and attended by some twenty thousand people. I had attended this fair every year during my early days, since the fair is very popular in the area. It still attracts the people in large numbers. A fair was held at the shrine of Bābā Farid Shakarganj at Bohan in Hoshiārpur tehsil. There were some more fairs which were held at Shāh Nur Jamāl, Garhdewālā, Kamāhi Devi, Dharampur Devi, Ayāpur and at some other places in this District.²

¹ *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, pp. 46, 144-146.

² *Hoshiārpur District Gazetteer*, pp. 77-79.

LUDHIĀNĀ :—The 'Roshani' Muslim fair was held at Pir Abdul Qādir's shrine which was lying in the open space between the fort and the town of Ludhiānā. A fair was held on a piece of waste land of Dād, a village close to Ludhiānā, in honour of Bhāi Bālā, the disciple of Guru Nānak, on 24th January. In Malerkotlā, on every Thursday, a fair is held at the shrine of Shaikh Sadr-ud-din, where his Masoleum is situated. The offerings were made in the shape of money, jewellery and grain. This fair is attended by the Hindūs largely. I had attended this fair many a time in 1946-47, when I was in the Government college and was invited by my students, some of whom were actually the descendants of the Shaikh and were taking offerings from the Pilgrims.

AMBĀLĀ :—The shrine of Mansā Devi, situated a few miles to the north of Mani Mājra, was a great centre of attraction of Hindū worshippers in large numbers. The fair was held on the 20th March and the following four days.¹ The Pankhā fair was held in the month of Rajab in honour of Pir Lakhi Shāh, whose tomb stands in the grain market of Ambālā City. Fans fully decorated were offered and hence the name of the fair. The saint was said to have flourished in the time of Qutab-ud-din Aibak.² A big fair was held at the temple of Gopāl Mōchan, near Bilāspur in the Jagādhari tehsil. The sacred tank of Gopāl Mōchan was very famous to attract a large gathering of the Hindū worshippers. Another sacred tank, the Rin Mōchan was also situated close to Gopāl Mōchan where a big fair was held in the month of October.³

DERĀ GHĀZI KHĀN :—Sakhi Sarwar, the Lakhdātā, was the son of Zenab-ud-din, who had migrated from Baghdād and had later settled at Siālkot. The place is situated at a distance of twelve miles east of Multān. The shrine of Sultān Sakhi Sarwar was built in 1226 A.D. on the high banks of a hill stream, and a handsome flight of steps led up from the bed of the stream to the shrine. The buildings of the shrine consist of Sakhi Sarwar's tomb on the west and the shrine of Bābā Nānak on the north-west. On the east is the tomb of Mussamat Bibi, the wife of Sakhi Sarwar and a Thākūr Dwārā'. The shrine of Sultān Sakhi Sarwar was built on the high bank of the hill stream at the foot of the Sulaimān Range. Sakhi Sarwar had performed some wonderful miracles and was presented by the Delhi Emperor with four silver mule loads, with which the shrine was built. Thus, the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is a curious mixture of the Muslim and the Hindū architecture.⁴ The shrine of Sulaimān Shāh at Tounsā commonly known

¹ *Ambālā District Gazetteer*, pp. 45, 139.

² *Ibid.* p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Derā Ghāzi Khān District Gazetteer*, pp. 9-40.

as Tounsā-Sharif, was the most important shrine where a fair was held and the Muslims gathered in large numbers. This shrine was built in 1272 A.D. by the then chief of Bahāwālpur.¹

MONTGOMERY:—At Pākpatan, there is a shrine of Bābā Farid Ganj-i-Shakar who died in 1265-66 A.D. The sanctity of the town and its shrine was acknowledged far beyond the boundaries of the Panjāb even in Afghānistān and Central Asia and the pilgrims of all communities² were constantly flocking to it. A fair was held at the temple of Lālu Jas Rāj in the month of January-February while a fair was held at the tomb of Imām Shāh at Dipālpur.

KARNĀL —An annual fair, largely attended by the Muslims was held at the tomb of Shaikh Shahāb-ud-din Balkhi at the Sewān gate in Kaithal. The Shaikh came to the Panjāb from Balkh in 1361 and was slain in a battle. He was worshipped as a martyr.³ The shrine of Shāh Wilāyat was built in the reign of the Ghorides. Thānesar and Pahōwā were other places in this District, where the Hindū fairs were held in large number. A bathing fair was held at Thānesar on the occasion of solar eclipse and attracted pilgrims in numbers, sometimes exceeding half a million.

PATIALA:—At Samānā there was a shrine of Imām ul-i-wali, also was believed to be a grand son of the Imām Musā Rizā, whose tomb was at Mashhad. His shrine, a fine building built by Muhammad Ghorī, was the place of fair which used to be held every year and was attended by all communities. Another fair used to be held at the shrine of Muhammad Shāh Ismail, popularly known as Pir-i-Samānā, the first Muslim to be settled there. There were three more shrines such as Mir Imām-Ullā Hussaini, Shāh Nizām-ud-din Bokhāri and his grand-son Abdullā II, where the annual fairs largely attended by the Muslims were held. At Sanāur, fairs were held at the shrine of Shāh Wilāyat Mubārīz-ud-din Hussain, a descendant of the Imām Hussain and a disciple of Hāfiz Muhammad Biābāni who had come from Arabia during the reign of Muhammad Ghorī and at the tomb of Roshan Ali Shāh where no one could stay from sun set to sun rise.⁴ At Sunām, the fairs were held at the shrines of Sajnā Qureshi called the Gherānwālā, who is said to be the general of Taimūr's forces and who fell in the battle at that spot and at the shrine of Ganj-i-Shahidān where the warriors fell in a battle in 1398, when Taimūr had attacked the fort of Sunām.⁵ A fair was being held at Pāel at the tomb of a Muslim saint, Shāh Hussain since fourteenth century.⁶ At a little distance

¹ *Ibid.* p. 41.

² *Montgomery District Gazetteer*, pp. 55-57.

³ *Karnāl District Gazetteer*, p. 213.

⁴ *Phulkiān States Gazetteer*, pp. 81-82.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 199.

from this place and to the east of the village of Ghurhām was the shrine of Mirān Saīd Bhīkh, within whose walls were three buildings in the central one of which hanged an iron globe suspended to a chain. Here a fair was held in June.¹ A tomb of Lālānwālā (Sakhi Sarwar) continues to attract many pilgrims to this day.

JIND—Two fairs were being held since the times of the Sultānate of Delhi, one on the 27th and 28th July and the other on the same dates in February-March at the Hindū temple of Hari Parkāsh, which still stands in the centre of a large tank in Jind town. Another fair of the Hindūs was held at the temple of Mahādeo Bhuteshwar, which was also in the town of Jind. A Muslim fair used to be held annually at the shrine of Shāh Dujan in Jind town. Another Muslim fair was held at the shrine of Shāh Wilāyat in the Muharram every year. Shāh Wilāyat had accompanied Shahāb-ud-din Ghorī in his campaign against Rāi Pithōrā, and was killed in a battle at Jind.²

ROHTAK—A yearly fair was held at Gohānā at the shrine of Shāh-ziā-ud-din Muhammad, a Muslim saint who accompanied Muhammad of Ghor to the Panjāb. An annual fair used to be celebrated in honour of two temples of Jain Arhat Pārasnāth.

HISSAR :—Fairs were held at the mosque and tomb of Qutb Jamāl-ud-din, at the tomb of Ali Mir Tijāra and at the mosque called the Shahīd Ganj, situated probably on the scene of Masud's first attempt to take Hānsi.

A fair in honour of Gugā Pir was held at Hissār on the ninth day of the Krishnapakbhā of Bhādon (24th August). Fairs also used to be held at Deosar in the Bhawāni tehsil in honour of the Hindū goddess, at Jugan in the Hissār tehsil in honour of Shivji and at Talwandi Rukra in Hissār tehsil in honour of Rāmedī.³

¹ *Ibid.* p. 194.

² *Ibid.* pp. 261-262.

³ *Hissār District Gazetteer*, pp. 121-122.

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1000-1526 A.D.

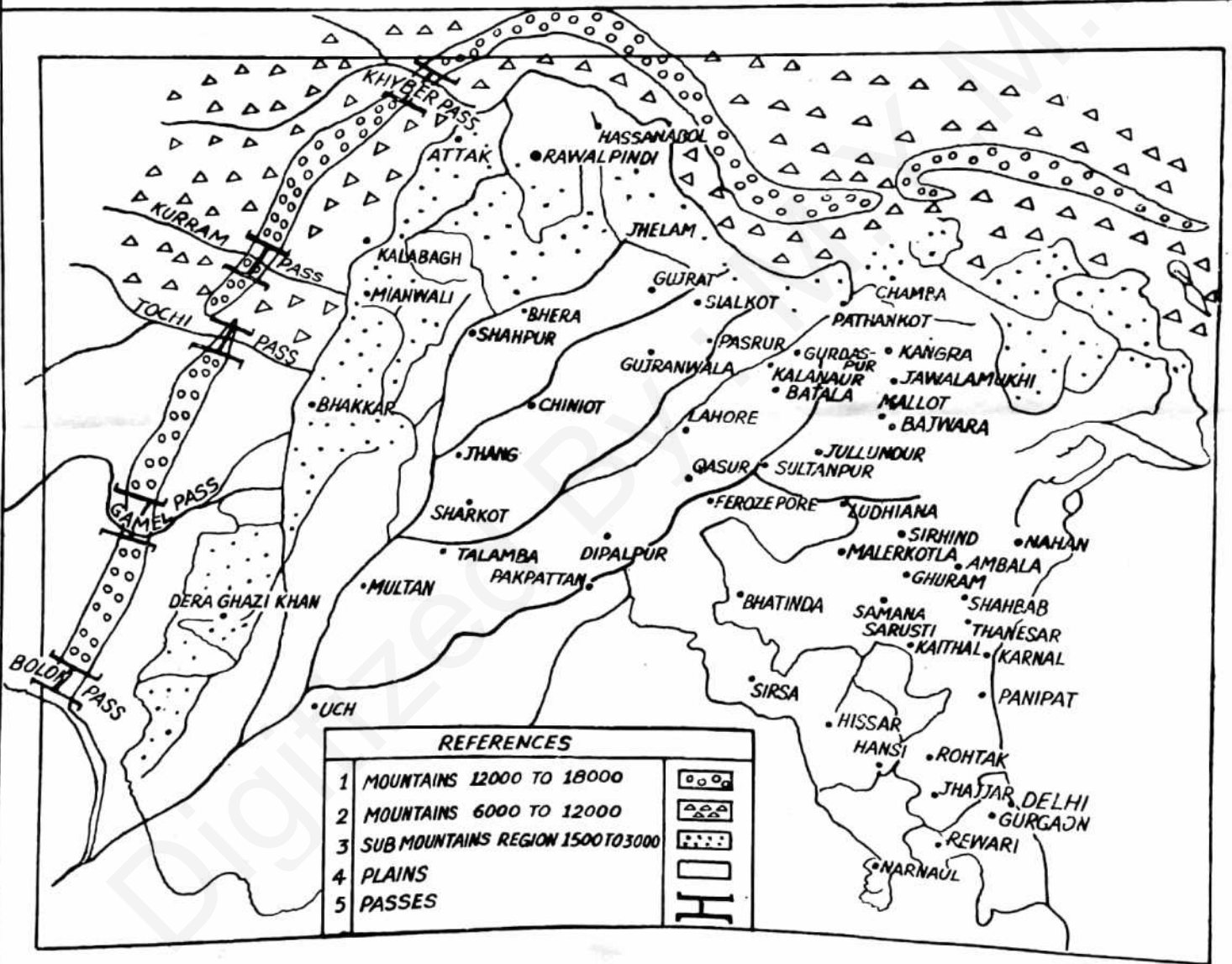
SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER OF INDIA



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1000 - 1526 A.D.

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